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A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS
CONNECTED WITH THE PUBLICATION
OF THE
TRACTS FOR THE TIMES,
WITH REFLECTIONS ON
EXISTING TENDENCIES TO ROMANISM,
AND ON THE
PRESENT DUTIES AND PROSPECTS OF
MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH.

BY THE
REV. WILLIAM PALMER, M.A.
OF WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

OXFORD:
JOHN HENRY PARKER.
LONDON: J. BURNS, PORTMAN STREET, PORTMAN SQUARE;
& J. G. F. & J. RIVINGTON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD, & WATERLOO PLACE.
1843.

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TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

RICHARD, LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD,

&c.

MY LORD,

IN thus submitting to your Lordship the humble results of an effort to separate Church principles from certain tendencies, which, to the grief of all true Churchmen, have recently manifested themselves, I am encouraged by the remembrance of the desire which your Lordship has evinced on several occasions to discriminate between the advocacy of orthodox and Catholic principles, which has been the privilege of many in this place, and any exaggerations or unsound tendencies with which it may have been occasionally combined.

The spirit of equity and of discretion in which your Lordship has, on several occasions, stated, that your "fears arose for the most part rather from the disciples than the teachers," seems to render it peculiarly fitting, that a work which is calculated to show the justice of those apprehensions, and of the distinction by which their expression is accompanied, should be inscribed to a Prelate, to whom Divine Providence has given an especial interest in the theological movement now in progress, and to whom every member of the Church

must feel deeply grateful, for the mode in which the demands of duty in most critical times have been met. I forbear to say what might be added on this subject, sensible that any words of mine would but imperfectly express the general sentiment of gratitude and respect.

I could have much wished, that a task which has been undertaken with reluctance, and only under a sense of urgent necessity, should have fallen into other and worthier hands. Strengthened, however, by the advice of many wise and eminent men, I venture thus firmly, but, I trust, in no spirit of unkindness, to draw a line between principles which many in this place and elsewhere have maintained, and certain novel theories and doctrines which seem fraught with danger to the cause of truth.

I have the honour to be,

my Lord,

Your obedient and grateful humble Servant,

WILLIAM PALMER.

PREFACE.

IT is the design of the following pages to clear those who uphold Church principles from the imputation of approving certain recent tendencies to Romanism. It is hoped that a plain statement of facts, avoiding controversy altogether, may conduce to the removal of mistakes on a point of so much importance. It seems a duty to truth, not to countenance, even by silence, what we feel to be erroneous and mischievous; and although it may sometimes be difficult to express our sentiments in regard to such matters, without a feeling of apprehension that our words may cause offence to some of our brethren; we must still endeavour to discharge this duty, however painful and difficult, in a spirit of steadfast reliance on the Divine assistance, of recollection and humility as regards ourselves, and of charity towards those from whom we are obliged to differ; and I trust that such feelings have not been wholly absent during the preparation of these pages.

I am aware, that some respected friends are of opinion, that it is unnecessary at present to draw any line of demarcation between our principles and those of the "British Critic;" that the views of this periodical, and of its supporters, are not generally identified with Church principles—or that it will be found impossible to persuade the public at large that there is

any line of demarcation between them. These objections seem to refute each other; but they shall be separately considered.

It may be, then, that some good and fair-minded men in this place and elsewhere, make such distinctions as we should wish. But is this generally the case? How few, for instance, are aware, that some of the principles advocated in the "British Critic" are displeasing to the authors of the Tracts, and to the great body of their friends! I apprehend that such distinctions are generally unknown, and if no line of demarcation is publicly drawn by the advocates of Church principles, it will be altogether impossible that they should not be identified with what they themselves disapprove.

With regard to the other objection—the alleged *impossibility* of separating Church principles, in the public apprehension, from Romanizing tendencies, I must admit that it may be difficult to persuade those who are opposed to Church principles, that they do not lead to Romanism; but it does not seem that there would be so much difficulty in setting the public right on a mere question of *fact*, *i. e.* whether such and such men are in reality favourable to *Romanism*—whether they intend to promote its interests—whether they actually receive its tenets or no.

I think it may be very possible to prevent mistakes on such a question from becoming prevalent, or, at least, permanent. All that seems necessary in this case is, a sufficient degree of openness.

We only want an *explicit* statement of men's views; plain and open speaking; avowals of what is our actual belief; praise where we think it due, and censure where any (be their merits in some respects ever so great) have deserved reproofs. This candour will restore mutual confidence; will reassure

those whose minds have been disturbed and unsettled by novel theories, will encourage the timid, strengthen the weak, recal fugitives, give a safe and firm rallying-point to all who are willing to uphold Church principles.

I now proceed to offer a few remarks on the contents of this pamphlet. It seemed advisable, in the first place, to place on record some account of the views on which the movement at Oxford, in 1833, was commenced, in order to show that our objects were wholly unconnected with party, or with any tendency to Romanism. A few other subjects of interest have been touched on, partly to afford desirable explanations, and partly to afford illustrations of principles and feelings. Such a selection from facts, documents, and correspondence in my possession, as could be made, consistently with the sanctity of private intercourse, is offered in corroboration of the statements which it has been deemed expedient to make.

Our movement in 1833 consisted of two branches.

Our Association speedily expanded itself throughout all England, and was responded to in Scotland and Ireland. But it speedily came to an end; after producing several important and beneficial effects, as regarded the security of the Church, and the State. I hope that I shall not be understood to represent these effects as having been amongst the *objects* of our movement in 1833. That movement was solely for the purpose of defending the Church herself in her spiritual capacity against the prevalent spirit of Latitudinarianism, and of reviving her salutary principles; but effects which we had not contemplated, and which, indeed, it would have been folly to have speculated on, followed from our movement.

The other branch of this movement was the publication of the Tracts. This was the more immediate province of my

colleagues, as will be seen in the following pages. I readily admit the far greater importance of this effort, which under the management of a few eminent men, assumed a character of permanence, and has produced great and lasting effects on the Church.

It may be thought, perhaps, that unnecessary advantages will be given to opponents of Church principles by the admissions which are made in this pamphlet, of faults and indiscretions on the part of some friends. But surely such an objection will not be urged by those who exercise freely the right of pointing out defects in our ecclesiastical system. A scruple which is not felt in regard to the Church herself, cannot consistently be advanced for the protection of any class of her members. I hope, however, that no uncandid or unfair use will be made of these admissions. I am content to appeal to the better feelings of our opponents.

With especial reference to those who have recently deviated so far from all sound Church principles, and from the doctrines even of the Tracts for the Times, and of their authors, I would hope, that the following pages will be found to express no sentiments inconsistent with good-will, and charity. It has been necessary to refer to the "British Critic," in illustration of their views. An unwillingness to direct public attention to the errors of *individuals*, has induced me to refrain from adducing many objectionable passages from other publications.

With reference to the quotations from the "British Critic," I think it necessary to direct particular attention to the statement in page 47, that the object has been only to establish the general character and tendency of a system; and that no opinion is meant to be expressed as to the exact nature or amount of impropriety in each particular passage adduced.

Had any such opinion been attempted, this pamphlet must have been greatly enlarged.

In the following pages, a hope is expressed, that the "British Critic" may before long be placed under some different management; but on further consideration, I fear that little advantage can be anticipated from such a change. The injury which has been inflicted by that periodical cannot be repaired by any mere change of management. A permanent evil has been done. Henceforward every advocate of the Church of England will be involved in most serious difficulties: his Romish opponents will always be able to quote against him the concessions and the doctrines of this periodical. I am convinced that extensive use will be made by Romanists of these concessions, for the purposes of proselytism; and even supposing the "British Critic" to recover the confidence of the Church, the danger will be in some degree enhanced, because the doctrines advanced in former numbers will only acquire new weight and consideration. These remarks are submitted with deference to better judgments.

I trust that in speaking of recent theories of "Development," a sufficient distinction has been drawn between the views of an eminent and much respected writer, and those of other men. I would not be understood to offer any opposition to the former, when rightly understood; but there is much vague and dangerous theory elsewhere afloat on the subject. The continual cry of the "British Critic" for "development," "progress," "change," "expansion of ideas," the actual and fearfully rapid progress of individual minds, the unsettlement of principles and notions openly avowed; all is calculated to create very serious uneasiness and alarm. Such impetuosity and recklessness seem better fitted to revolutionize than to reform. We

shall, I trust, be always ready most earnestly to support rational and well-considered plans for increasing the efficiency of our ecclesiastical system, and for removing all proved defects; but we should remember, that hasty and unnecessary alterations may only involve us in difficulties even greater than those which may now be felt.

In the latter part of this pamphlet will be found a brief statement of some of the leading Church principles, with a view to mark the difference between them, and the errors of Romanism on the one hand, and of ultra Protestantism on the other. In so brief a sketch, many features of interest will necessarily have been unnoticed; but I trust that enough will have been said, to remind the reader of the general character of the Church system.

I have now to offer the expression of deep gratitude to many respected and valued friends for their support and encouragement, and for the valuable suggestions which I have received from various quarters. They have tended materially to relieve anxieties which the peculiar circumstances of the time had excited; and I shall always feel thankful for the assurance which they have afforded, that real and substantial agreement in all great principles is generally combined with a most cordial attachment to the National Church, and with a resolution to maintain her distinctive principles with as much zeal against any approaches to Romanism, as against tendencies towards the opposite class of errors.

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A

NARRATIVE,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

THE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF THE CHURCH IN 1833— ITS RESULTS.

I AM desirous of placing on record some circumstances connected with the origin of the theological movement, which has for some years occupied so large a space of public attention. They will not be without interest, proceeding, as they do, from an eye-witness of the events which he is about to relate; from one, who was zealously engaged in the promotion of this now celebrated movement at its very origin, and whose personal friendship and regard for those, who have been so long known as the more prominent of its supporters, has never suffered the slightest diminution.

To Mr. Perceval we are indebted for an account of the proceedings in 1833 and 1834, and for copies of various documents connected with those proceedings. For reasons which will appear in the course of the following remarks, I was unwilling that my name should be published in Mr. Perceval's narrative, as having taken any share in the original movement; but subsequent circumstances have induced me to throw off this reserve, and to acknowledge and avow my responsibility. I shall now proceed, without further preface, to a statement of the

B

events of which I was an eye-witness; and shall not hesitate to express my sentiments, with the freedom and openness, which circumstances seem imperatively to require.

At the beginning of the summer of 1833, the Church in England and Ireland seemed destined to immediate desolation and ruin. We had seen in 1828, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts cutting away from the Church of England one of its ancient bulwarks, and evidencing a disposition to make concession to the clamour of its enemies. In the next year—the *fatal* year 1829—we had seen this principle fully carried out, by the concession of what is called “Roman Catholic Emancipation;” a measure which scattered to the winds public principle, public morality, public confidence, and dispersed a party, which, had it possessed courage to adhere to its old and popular principles, and to act on them with manly energy, would have stemmed the torrent of revolution, and averted the awful crisis which was at hand.

Deep as was the consternation, and almost despair of the friends of order and religion at this time, when we beheld our rulers sacrifice (*avowedly* under the influence of intimidation) a constitution, which, in the very moment of its ruin, they admitted to be essential to the security of the Church—Deep as was then our alarm and indignation, at being thus delivered over, bound hand and foot, into the power of a hostile Ascendancy; into the hands of a parliament reckless of the high and sacred interests of religion, and now for the first time numbering by law amongst its members, Romanists and Dissenters; there were yet in store for us events of a more fearful nature. The first sound of the tocsin of revolution at Paris in 1830, ought to have re-united the scattered friends of established order in England: it left them engaged in violent dissensions; and, with the exception of the “Morning Post,” the whole Press of England threw itself into the cause of the revolutionary party in France. Ere long the tide began to flow upon our own shores; and the Tory Aristocracy which had forsaken the Church in yielding Emancipation, were now hurled from their political ascendancy; and the REFORM BILL of 1831, a just retribution for their offence, made for a time the democratic principle all-powerful in the State.

It was then that we felt ourselves assailed by enemies from without and from within. Our prelates insulted and threatened by ministers of state—continual motions made for their expulsion from the legislature—demands for the suppression of Church-rates, on the avowed principle of opening the way for a total separation of Church and State—clamours, loud and long, for the overthrow of the Church—Dissenters and Romanists triumphing in the prospect of its subversion, and assailing it with every epithet calculated to stimulate popular hatred. In Ireland, some of our clergy assassinated; the rest deprived of their incomes, and reduced to the verge of starvation; while the government looked calmly on, and seemed to encourage this terrible persecution. In fine, an uninterrupted series of injuries, dangers, and desertions, was closed by the sacrifice of *ten* bishoprics in Ireland; and we were advised to feel thankful that a more sweeping measure had not been adopted¹. What was next to come? Was this to lead to similar measures in England? Was the same principle of concession to popular clamour, which had led to the desolation of the Irish Church to gratify the Romish democracy there, next to be exemplified in the dismemberment of the English Church, in the hope of conciliating its antagonists? Who could tell? We had seen even prelates of our own Church make concession after concession, on this and other points which should have been defended at all hazards.

Nor was this the worst. The prevailing spirit of innovation had begun deeply to infect the Church itself. Writers had been at work for some time, disseminating superficial and fanciful novelties on religious questions; disdaining all appeal to authority; and encouraging a taste for a rationalizing theology. The publications of the author of "The Natural History of Enthusiasm," which went directly to the subversion of all existing religious systems, as well amongst the Dissen-

¹ If the report be well founded, as I believe it to be, that the original intention of the Ministry was to suppress a considerably larger number of sees, and that they were dissuaded from this design by a Prelate whom they had recently nominated to his high office, the gratitude of the Church is eminently due to that distinguished Prelate. The recent exertions made in the same quarter to revive the bishopric of Leighlin, and the personal sacrifices which were offered on that occasion, are beyond praise.

ters as in the Church, had been unsuspectingly and greedily absorbed by the public mind. The theory of Church and State had been handled by adherents of a rationalizing school which had grown up in Oxford; on various principles indeed, but in such modes as to generate dissatisfaction with existing institutions. Elements thus prepared were stimulated into unnatural activity by political convulsions. We were overwhelmed with pamphlets on Church Reform. Lord Henley (brother-in-law of Sir Robert Peel), Dr. Burton, Regius Professor at Oxford, and others of name and influence, led the way; and nothing was heard but dissatisfaction with the Church—with her abuses—her corruptions—her errors! Each sciolist presented his puny design for reconstructing this august temple built by no human hands. Such was the disorganization of the public mind, that Dr. Arnold of Rugby ventured to propose, that all sects should be united by Act of Parliament with the Church of England, on the principle of retaining all their distinctive errors and absurdities. Reports, apparently well founded, were prevalent, that some of the prelates, especially the Bishop of London², were favourable to alterations in the Liturgy. Pamphlets were in wide circulation, recommending the abolition of the Creeds (at least in public worship), and especially urging the expulsion of the Athanasian Creed; the removal of all mention of the blessed Trinity; of the doctrine of baptismal Regeneration; of the practice of absolution. In fact, there was not a single stone of the sacred edifice of the Church, which was not examined, shaken, undermined, by a meddling and ignorant curiosity.

Such was our condition in the early part of the summer of 1833. We knew not to what quarter to look for support. A Prelacy threatened, and apparently intimidated; a Government making its powers subservient to agitators who avowedly sought the destruction of the Church. The State, so long the guardian of that Church, now becoming its enemy and its tyrant. Enemies within the Church seeking the subversion of its essential characteristics. And what was worst of all—*no principle in the*

² That excellent prelate, on being informed of the report, took immediate measures to contradict it.

public mind to which we could appeal ; an utter ignorance of all rational grounds of attachment to the Church ; an oblivion of its spiritual character, as an institution, not of man, but of God ; the grossest Erastianism most widely prevalent, especially amongst all classes of politicians. There was in all this enough to appal the stoutest hearts ; and those who can recal the feelings of those days, will at once remember the deep depression into which the Church had fallen, and the gloomy forebodings which were universally prevalent.

But in those hours of darkness, there were hearts, many hearts, burning with shame and grief for the general apostasy around them ; hearts which were yet beating high at the thought, that amidst the universal shipwreck and treason, there was ONE, whose protection might be relied on ; and which were ready at the first opening of possibility, to devote themselves to the service of the Church. I had myself the gratification of promoting in some degree the first movement of re-action in 1832, by publishing in the "British Magazine," which had been just established by a lamented friend, the Rev. Hugh J. Rose, a series of articles on dissent, which by means of a large mass of evidence derived from dissenting publications, directed public attention to the small number, the difficulties, and declining state of the dissenting interest. I had the satisfaction to find, that those articles not only attracted earnest and uneasy attention amongst dissenters themselves, but that they were extensively quoted and copied by many writers of the Church (often without acknowledgment) ; and that they formed the basis of several books, (such as the "Letters of L. S. E. to a Dissenting Minister,") which were directed against the principles and practice of dissent, with the most perfectly satisfactory results.

These efforts, however, could do little to dispel the fears to which we were continually subject ; and in the early part of 1833, the suppression of bishoprics in Ireland, accompanied by most grievous persecutions of the Church, brought our evils to the climax.

I had not been very intimately acquainted with Mr. Newman and Mr. Froude,—and was scarcely known to Mr. Keble, or Mr.

Perceval,—when our deep sense of the wrongs sustained by the Church in the suppression of bishoprics, and our feeling of the necessity of doing whatever was in our power to arrest the tide of evil, brought us together in the summer of 1833. It was at the beginning of long vacation, (when, Mr. Froude being almost the only occupant of Oriel College, we frequently met in the common room,) that the resolution to unite and associate in defence of the Church, of her violated liberties, and neglected principles, arose. This resolution was immediately acted on; and while I corresponded with Mr. Rose³, Mr. Froude communicated our design to Mr. Keble. Mr. Newman soon took part in our deliberations, on his return from the continent. The particular course which we were to adopt, became the subject of much and anxious thought; and as it was deemed advisable to confer with Mr. Rose on so important a subject, Mr. Froude and myself, after some correspondence, visited him at Hadleigh, in July, where I also had the pleasure of becoming personally acquainted with Mr. Perceval, who had been invited to take part in our deliberations. The conference at Hadleigh, which continued for nearly a week, concluded without any specific arrangements being entered into; though we all concurred as to the necessity of some mode of combined action, and the expediency of circulating tracts or publications on ecclesiastical subjects, intended to inculcate sound and enlightened principles of attachment to the Church. On our return to Oxford, frequent

³ The necessity of associating in defence of the Church had already suggested itself to many minds. I have before me a series of Resolutions for the formation of a General Church Association, agreed on by some Clergy in Cheshire in February and March, 1832; but this design was unsuccessful. I had been in correspondence with Mr. Rose early in 1833 on the same subject; but the particular plan suggested seemed to be open to objections. In a letter dated Hadleigh, Feb. 1, 1833, he says, "That something is requisite, is certain. The only thing is, that whatever is done ought to be *quickly* done: for the danger is immediate, and I should have little fear if I thought that we could stand for ten or fifteen years as we are." In another communication on the same subject, dated March 8, he says, "You will see we quite agree as to the end, quite agree as to what is desirable, but I cannot allow myself to hope that the means would be feasible. * * * * * Still I think the notion of creating a spirit of attachment and closer union, is so valuable, that I wish you would give me a letter for the Magazine on the subject."

conferences took place at Oriel College, between Mr. Froude, Mr. Newman, Mr. Keble, and the writer⁴, in which various plans were discussed, and in which especial attention was given to the preparation of some formulary of agreement, as a basis for our Association.

Mr. Perceval has published three forms of association (pp. 12, 13, and 17). The first two of these papers were, I believe, principally composed by Mr. Keble; and considerable discussion took place on various parts of them. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that either of them was finally adopted as the actual formulary of agreement. It always seemed to me, that, however true in a certain sense might be some of the doctrines comprised in those documents, their introduction as fundamental conditions of our union might create much embarrassment, and might limit the sphere of our utility, in prematurely obtruding on the friends of the Church questions, which either from want of knowledge, or from the difficulty of adopting unobjectionable phraseology, might cause offence rather than promote harmony and co-operation. There was some difference of opinion on the question of the union of Church and State, which some of our friends seemed inclined to regard as an evil; while I (and perhaps another) was desirous to maintain this union, notwithstanding the evidently hostile disposition of the State, and its tyrannical suppression of the Irish sees, because, as it appeared to me, we could not attain absolute independence, and the power of self-legislation, and liberty to elect our bishops, except by sacrificing the endowments of the Church, on which our whole parochial system, and the dissemination of religious truth throughout the land, are practically dependent; and, considering that no plan had been suggested for the election of bishops which was not liable to objections and to evils, fully as great as any which may exist under the present system of nomination by the Crown; considering also the fearful consequence of leaving our clergy as a body dependent on the voluntary contributions of the people,

⁴ Mr. Keble and Mr. Perceval were not resident in the University. The former occasionally visited us. Mr. Rose was at Durham, and could no longer be consulted.

who were wholly unaccustomed to the discharge of such a duty, and would be disposed to shrink from it; I could not but think that any efforts which went towards the separation of Church and State, would be injurious to the Church, as well as unavailing in themselves, and prejudicial to our union. Circumstances might be supposed indeed, in which the Church should be prepared to make the sacrifice of her endowments; i. e. if she could only retain them *by relinquishing her vital principles*; but on the occasion now under consideration, we were not reduced to this extremity.

It was after many discussions on these and similar subjects, that I prepared a draft of the *third* formulary, printed by Mr. Perceval, (p. 17.) which was revised and improved by a friend and was finally adopted as the basis of our further proceedings; it was as follows:—

Suggestions for the Formation of an Association of Friends of the Church.

It will readily be allowed by all reflecting persons, that events have occurred within the last few years, calculated to inspire the true Members and Friends of the Church with the deepest uneasiness. The privilege possessed by parties hostile to her doctrine, ritual, and polity, of legislating for her, their avowed and increasing efforts against her, their close alliance with such as openly reject the Christian Faith, and the lax and unsound principles of many who profess and even think themselves her friends, these things have been displayed before our eyes, and sounded in our ears, until from their very repetition we almost forget to regard them with alarm.

The most obvious dangers are those, which impend over the Church as an Establishment; but to these it is not here proposed to direct attention. However necessary it may be on the proper occasion to resist all measures which threaten the security of Ecclesiastical property and privileges, still it is felt that there are perils of a character more serious than those which beset the political rights, and the temporalities of the Clergy; and such, moreover, as admit and justify a more active opposition to them on the part of individual Members of the Church. Every one who has become acquainted with the literature of the day, must have observed the sedulous attempts made in various quarters, to reconcile Members of the Church to alterations in its Doctrines and Discipline. Projects of change, which include the annihilation of our Creeds and the removal of doctrinal state-

ments incidentally contained in our worship, have been boldly and assiduously put forth. Our Services have been subjected to licentious criticisms, with a view of superseding some of them, and of entirely remodeling others. The very elementary principles of our ritual and discipline have been rudely questioned. Our Apostolical polity has been ridiculed and denied.

In ordinary times, such attempts might safely have been left to the counter operation of the good sense and practical wisdom, hitherto so distinguishing a feature in the English character. But the case is altered, when account is taken of the spirit of the present age; which is confessedly disposed to regard points of religious belief with indifference, to sacrifice the interests of truth to notions of temporary convenience, and to indulge in a restless and intemperate desire of novelty and change.

Under these circumstances it has appeared expedient to Members of the Church in various parts of the kingdom, to form themselves into an Association on a few broad principles of union, which are calculated from their simplicity to recommend themselves to the approbation and support of Churchmen at large, and which may serve as the grounds of a defence of the Church's best interests against the immediate difficulties of the present day. They feel strongly, that no fear of the appearance of forwardness on their part should dissuade them from a design, which seems to be demanded of them by their affection towards that spiritual Community, to which they owe their hopes of the world to come, and by a sense of duty to that God and Saviour who is its Founder and Defender. And they adopt this method of respectfully inviting their Brethren, both Clergy and Laity, to take part in their undertaking.

OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. To maintain pure and inviolate the doctrines, the services, and the discipline of the Church; that is, to withstand all change, which involves the denial and suppression of doctrine, a departure from primitive practice in religious offices, or innovation upon the Apostolical prerogatives, order, and commission of bishops, priests, and deacons.

2. To afford Churchmen an opportunity of exchanging their sentiments, and co-operating together on a large scale^b.

The formulary thus agreed on was printed, and was privately and extensively circulated amongst our friends in all parts of England, in the autumn of 1833. Our intention was not to form a society merely at Oxford, but to extend it throughout all England, or rather to form similar societies in every part of

^b Appendix, Note A.

England. But, finding that jealousy was expressed in several high quarters at the formation of any associations, and the notion being also unacceptable to Froude and others at Oxford, we ceased, after a time, from circulating these papers, or advising the formation of societies. Some permanent effects, however, were produced. Societies were organized at Bath, Bristol, Ripon, Cheltenham, Winchester, and, I believe, in other places, which have on many occasions done eminent service to the Church. The expressions of approbation which were received from the clergy in all parts of the country inspired us with increased hopes and confidence of success. We thus learned that the principle of ancient loyalty and devotion was deeply rooted in the parochial clergy of England, and that they were prepared to unite with us in vindicating the spiritual rights of their despised and almost persecuted Church.

It was suggested by friends in the country, that this object might be forwarded if some deputation were to proceed from Oxford to different parts of England, with a view to explain more definitely our intentions and designs. Having no other engagements at the time, I readily undertook this mission; and at Coventry, Winchester, and in London, had the pleasure of meeting many of the parochial clergy, and several eminent dignitaries of the Church, to whom I detailed the circumstances which had led a few retired and studious clergymen to combine together for the Church of England, against its opponents, whether Romanists, Dissenters, or Rationalists. The exposition of our views was received with general approbation, and I returned to Oxford with a heart full of the deepest gratitude to that Providence which had so far signally blessed our undertaking, and of confidence in the high principle and unshaken constancy of the parochial clergy of England.

Thus encouraged, our next proceeding was to devise some mode of giving public and combined expression to that sound and healthy feeling which we found so generally prevalent in the Church; to obtain some *pledge* of loyalty and attachment to ancient principles, which might inspire mutual confidence, and re-unite the scattered and despondent friends of religion. Some declaration of attachment to the Church which might be

subscribed by the clergy was then thought of, and it speedily assumed the form of an Address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which I drew up, and which was communicated to the most influential of our friends in London for revision, and was finally printed, and circulated in the following form :—

To the Most Rev. Father in God, William, by Divine Providence
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England.

We, the undersigned Clergy of England and Wales, are desirous of approaching your Grace with the expression of our veneration for the sacred office, to which by Divine Providence you have been called, of our respect and affection for your personal character and virtues, and of our gratitude for the firmness and discretion, which you have evinced in a season of peculiar difficulty and danger.

At a time, when events are daily passing before us which mark the growth of latitudinarian sentiments, and the ignorance which prevails concerning the spiritual claims of the Church, we are especially anxious to lay before your Grace the assurance of our devoted adherence to the Apostolical Doctrine and Polity of the Church over which you preside, and of which we are Ministers; and our deep-rooted attachment to that venerable Liturgy, in which she has embodied, in the language of ancient piety, the Orthodox and Primitive Faith.

And while we most earnestly deprecate that restless desire of change which would rashly innovate in spiritual matters, we are not less solicitous to declare our firm conviction, that should any thing from the lapse of years or altered circumstances require renewal or correction, your Grace, and our other Spiritual Rulers, may rely upon the cheerful co-operation and dutiful support of the Clergy in carrying into effect any measures, that may tend to revive the discipline of ancient times, to strengthen the connection between the Bishops, Clergy, and People, and to promote the purity, the efficiency, and the unity of the Church.

Much discussion arose on the question, whether this Address should include an expression of confidence in the *other prelates*, as well as in the Archbishop of Canterbury, which our friends in London considered as essential, in order to obviate jealousies. This difference of opinion caused extreme embarrassment, for the Address was already printed and in circulation amongst the clergy, when it arose. Many of our friends were in great alarm; and from Mr. Rose I received letters expressing very serious apprehension that this Address would cause schism in the Church. Our difficulties, indeed, soon became very great.

Some of the clergy were apprehensive that the Address might lead to counter-addresses from the party in favour of Church Reform. Others were unwilling to subscribe any thing which seemed to contemplate the possibility of reform in our ritual or discipline. Others again supposed the Address to be intended as a condemnation of all change and improvement. Besides this, we found the superior clergy, dignitaries of the Church; &c. in general, extremely timid and apprehensive; in a few cases, very strongly opposed to us. We had no encouragement from any bishop. The prelates in general, permitted the matter to take its course; but two or three of the bishops were decidedly opposed to the Address until near the conclusion, and their clergy were the last to subscribe it. There was, indeed, much misapprehension abroad as to our motives, and we had no means of explaining those motives, without the danger of giving publicity to our proceedings, which, in the then state of the public mind on Church matters, might have led to dangerous results. There was also no inconsiderable jealousy at the apparent presumption of young men without station in the Church, undertaking so great a work; and we found this to be particularly the case in Oxford.

I had ample opportunity for observing the difficulties which surrounded us; for, being comparatively free from other engagements, the management of the Address, and of the extensive correspondence to which it led, chiefly devolved on me. The correspondence with the diocese of Chichester, and parts of London, Bristol, and Carlisle, was in other hands; but that with the remainder of England and Wales, was carried on by the writer. It was his effort to remove the prevalent misconceptions of our objects; and in this, aided by several friends, he was so far successful, as to witness the gradual accession of the great body of the clergy to the Address. As its completion approached, he went to London to receive the signatures from all parts of the country, which were appended to the Address; and in February, 1834, this document with the signatures of nearly 7000 clergy⁶ (and more were pouring in) was presented to his

⁶ The Addresses from several dioceses had been previously transmitted to his Grace.

Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace, by a Deputation consisting of members of the Lower House of Convocation, and representatives from the Universities; including many of the Deans, Archdeacons, Proctors of Chapters and of Diocesan clergy, Professors and Heads of Houses from Oxford and Cambridge, some of whom have since been strongly opposed to the theology of the Tracts'. To the history of those Tracts, attention shall presently be directed; but in the mean time I shall proceed in my narrative of proceedings connected with the Address to the Archbishop.

During the circulation of the Address amongst the clergy, applications had been received from many stedfast members of the Church amongst the laity, expressing their desire to sign that or some similar declaration. It was impossible to refuse a request so honourable to those who preferred it, and promising so important an aid to the Church. We applied in the first instance to an eminent member of the House of Commons, whose devotion to the Church had been nobly proved, and to another gentleman of distinguished character and rank; and they proceeded to Cambridge in December, for the purpose of conferring with some of our leading friends in high official station there. The result of their deliberations appears in the following Address, which it was proposed to circulate amongst the laity:—

To His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

May it please your Grace,

We the undersigned lay members of the Church, over which, by Divine Providence, your Grace, as Primate of all England, most worthily presides, approach you with the assurance of our respectful and dutiful confidence, at a period when that Church is attacked with more than usual violence, and by efforts more than ever combined.

We desire to assure your Grace, that in maintaining in all their integrity the institutions of our venerable and apostolical Establishment; your Grace and the several rulers of the Church, who in their respective orders may be associated with your Grace in the maintenance of our Ecclesiastical polity, will be supported by our cordial and zealous exertions.

We are attached alike from conviction and from feeling to the Church

[†] Note B.

of England. We believe it to have been the great and distinguishing blessing of this country ; and as laymen, we feel, that in the preservation of that Church, we have an interest not less real, and not less direct, than its more immediate ministers.

While we are not insensible to the possibility of advantage to be derived to all its members from such revived exercise of discipline and superintendence on the part of its bishops, priests, and deacons, as may be sanctioned by the competent authority within the Church, we desire to uphold unimpaired its doctrines, as set forth in its Creeds and Articles, and to preserve that venerable Liturgy, in which is embodied, in the language of ancient piety, the orthodox and primitive faith.

Our earnest hope, and our humble prayer is, that God may still bless all the labours of the friends of the Church, may overthrow the designs of all its enemies, may cause kings still to be its nursing fathers, and queens its nursing mothers, and may render it from age to age the means of promoting his glory, and the advancement of his kingdom upon earth.

It seemed, however, that the honourable and high-minded men who had drawn up this admirable document, found themselves so circumstanced, that the address could not be put in circulation by them. Considerable difficulties presented themselves in various directions *. Under these circumstances it was requisite to look elsewhere for the management of our measure. I was now in London, deputed to arrange this affair, in company with a friend †, from whose judgment and zeal, great advantages were derived. Observing the difficulties which had arisen, we deemed it necessary to begin again *de novo*, by placing the matter in other hands. A declaration was accordingly prepared in London by a layman, whose virtues, abilities, and munificence had for many years procured for him the veneration of all true churchmen, and very extensive influence in the management of its principal Societies. This declaration was conceived in the following terms:—

A Declaration of the Laity of the Church of England.

At a time when the Clergy of England and Wales have felt it their duty to address their Primate with an expression of unshaken adherence to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of which they are Ministers, We the Undersigned, as Lay-members of the same, are not less anxious to

* Note C.

† The Rev. Richard Greswell, M.A., Fellow of Worcester College.

record our firm attachment to her pure faith and worship, and her apostolic form of government.

We further find ourselves called upon, by the events which are daily passing around us, to declare our firm conviction, that the consecration of the State by the public maintenance of the Christian Religion is the first and paramount duty of a Christian People; and that the Church Established in these realms, by carrying its sacred and beneficial influences through all orders and degrees, and into every corner of the land, has for many ages been the great and distinguishing blessing of this Country, and not less the means, under Divine Providence, of national prosperity than of individual piety.

In the preservation, therefore, of this our National Church in the integrity of her rights and privileges, and in her alliance with the State, we feel that we have an interest no less real, and no less direct, than her immediate Ministers; and we accordingly avow our firm determination to do all that in us lies, in our several stations, to uphold, unimpaired in its security and efficiency, that Establishment, which we have received as the richest legacy of our forefathers, and desire to hand down as the best inheritance of our posterity.

It was considered necessary to place the management of the declaration in the hands of a committee of lay members of the Church, who continued for some months to sit in London. The correspondence in which we had been engaged, enabled me immediately to place the committee in communication with zealous and influential laity in seventy of the principal towns and districts of England and Wales, who were ready and willing to lend their assistance in the good work. The committee, however, though animated by the best spirit, and sincerely desirous of the welfare of the Church, were not successful in obtaining such a number of signatures to the declaration as might fairly have been expected, under efficient management¹. The committee having resolved to receive only the names of heads of families, the declaration when presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in May, 1834, contained 230,000 signatures².

The *circulation* of the declaration amongst the laity, however, which took place under the auspices of the committee, produced far more important and decisive effects than could have resulted from any assemblage of signatures. It pro-

¹ Note D.

² Note E.

duced the first awakening from that torpor of despair into which the friends of order and religion had been plunged by the triumph of hostile principles under the Reform Bill. The country was still under the formidable domination of political unions: it was still trembling at the remembrance of insurrection and devastation at Bristol and Nottingham³. It beheld a feeble band of patriots in the House of Commons, struggling for the remnants of the British Constitution against a majority of revolutionists fivefold more numerous than themselves. The House of Lords, indeed, nobly stemmed wave after wave of revolution, but we knew not how soon the threats and execrations of the disappointed democracy might rise into another storm, and sweep away this last bulwark of law and order. It was then that the principle of attachment to the Church of England called forth the first public demonstration of attachment to all that Englishmen should hold most dear and sacred. The Declaration of the laity was sent to all parts, and meetings of Churchmen were convened in all the principal towns. So great was the apprehension at this time, that they did not venture at first to assemble openly, for the purpose of recording their attachment to the Established Church; admission was in general restricted to those friends who were provided with tickets.

The result, however, was beyond what the warmest friends of the Church could have ventured to anticipate. Day after day did the "Standard," then our steady friend and coadjutor in defence of the Church⁴, teem with accounts of meetings of her

³ In Oxford we were more than once alarmed by reports, that the Birmingham Political Union intended to march through Oxford on their way to London, and to sack and burn the colleges.

⁴ I had taken the liberty of suggesting to the accomplished Editor of this Journal, in the preceding autumn, the expediency of writing a series of articles designed to encourage the friends of the Church, by showing the numerical weakness of the Dissenters. This policy was most admirably pursued by the "Standard," and its good effects became instantly visible. Although the writer deeply regrets that the "Standard" has, for some time past, taken so much of a party tone in religious questions, he gratefully tenders to one of the most powerful and consistent political writers of the age, the expression of warm gratitude for services to the Church in former years, the value of which cannot be too highly appreciated. This journal, however, and the "St. James's Chronicle,"

faithful children in all parts of England. Nottingham, York, Cheltenham, Northampton, Derby, Plymouth, Dorchester, Poole, Liverpool, Norwich, Newcastle, Hull, Bristol, Bath, Gloucester, and many other places, vied with each other in heart-stirring declarations of devotion and fidelity to the Church of their fathers, and resolutions to maintain its rights and its doctrines. Petitions in support of the Church began rapidly to pour into the House of Commons. It seemed as if feelings long pent up had acquired energy from restraint and compression; and the Church beheld with astonishment the power and the substantial popularity of which it was possessed.

Nor was this the whole amount of benefit derived. The resolute declarations of attachment to the Church which thus emanated from the people, found an echo in the heart of Royalty itself, and his most gracious Majesty, King William IV., in May, 1834, took occasion to address to the Prelates of England, assembled on the anniversary of his birth-day, his royal declaration of devoted affection to the Church, and of his firm resolution to maintain its doctrines³, a declaration which was hailed by all friends of the Church with the strongest feelings of gratitude and loyal attachment⁴. I may here add, that in the autumn, shortly after these events, King William availed himself of an opportunity to call the Conservative party to the head of affairs; and the impulse which had been given to loyal and constitutional principles by the Ecclesiastical movements of the spring and summer, at once displayed itself in the presentation of thousands of addresses of thanks and congratulation to the King, on the dismissal of the ministry, which were succeeded by more solid proofs of principle, in the return of so great a body of Conservative members of parliament as instantly and permanently arrested the march of revolution, and raised the Conservative party in parliament nearly to an equality with that of its opponents.

Here we must pause in this branch of the narrative, having have ceased to merit the confidence of the friends of Church principles. That confidence never ought to be extended to any journal which fosters divisions in the Church.

³ Note F.

⁴ Note G.

carried on the series of our efforts and their consequences, to the revival of sound political feeling in the nation, and the elevation of the Conservative party. Our movement, however, had *no political object of any kind*. We understood indeed that it was rather disapproved by some Conservative leaders. We were certainly never aided or encouraged by them in any way.

It will always be some pleasure to reflect that we were instrumental, in some degree, under Divine providence, in awakening the slumbering spirit of religion and of patriotism, a spirit which mere political Conservatism might not have found it easy to evoke; and I trust that the narrative of our obscure and humble, but devoted exertions in the cause of the Church, may encourage the friends of that Church to rely for its defence, not on the professions of political parties, or on the gratitude of those whom they may have raised to power, but on their own good cause, and on the affectionate loyalty of its adherents⁵.

One more result of our exertions, however, must not be passed over in silence. I can sincerely say, that if there was one object more than another which we should have been happy to realise, it was *the union of the Church*. Separated as we were from existing party-feelings and associations, we only looked to the general good⁶. I am sure that we felt as kindly towards one set of men as towards another. None of our publications alluded to party differences. Mr. Rose, in establishing the "British Magazine," had resolved to keep clear of questions which had divided the Church⁷, and in this we cheerfully concurred. I *know* the kind and charitable feelings which existed in others towards the party called "Evangelical," and am sure that no different sentiment has ever existed in my own mind. The controversies which have since arisen, and have been carried on in a spirit tending to widen our divisions, are a source of grief and disappointment.

How great, then, was our rejoicing to find that in the course of our exertions, men of different theological schools were brought nearer together, were inspired with feelings of

⁵ Note H.

⁶ Note I.

⁷ Note K.

mutual respect and esteem, and were convinced that religion, and religious truth, were more widely extended than they had been accustomed to think. The wounds of the Church were every day healing by the balm of brotherly love.

This plain and unvarnished statement of facts will, it is hoped, exculpate those who were engaged in the Association of 1833 and 1834, from any imputation of designs hostile to the doctrines or discipline of the Church of England, or favourable to the introduction of Romanism. The views which were entertained in common by those who took the lead in that movement, are represented by the documents which they circulated, and by them alone. The "Suggestions for the formation of an Association of friends of the Church," and the "Address to the Archbishop of Canterbury," were the results of our conferences, and they alone represent our united sentiments. In those documents, which were received with favour by the great body of the Clergy, we expressed our disapprobation of "*alterations in the doctrines and discipline of the Church,*" our resolution "*to maintain pure and inviolate the doctrines, the services, and the discipline of the Church.*" We asserted "*our devoted adherence to the Apostolical doctrine and polity of the Church, . . . and our deep-rooted attachment to the Liturgy, in which she has embodied, in the language of ancient piety, the orthodox and primitive faith.*" Our attachment to the Church of England is therefore unquestionable.

Our combination was for the purpose of resisting Latitudinarian attempts against the established doctrine and discipline, and of defending the principles of the Church. It is, of course, impossible to assert positively that individuals amongst us may not have had *private* views more or less favourable to Romanism, but most assuredly the existence of such tendencies was wholly unknown; and from all that passed, I have no hesitation in saying, that had there been any suspicion of a tendency to Romanism, our combination would have been impossible. And as far as one individual can answer for the sentiments of others, with whom he was on terms of intimate and unreserved communication, I can safely say, that not one of my friends or colleagues had any designs in favour of Romanism.

CHAPTER II.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.—THE HAMPDEN CONTROVERSY.

WE now turn to the history of the "Tracts for the Times," and for this purpose must retrace our steps to the autumn of 1833. It had been unanimously agreed amongst those who originated the movement, that the press ought to be made the means of bringing before the clergy and laity the great principles on which the Church is based, and which had been almost wholly forgotten. We felt it necessary to teach people that the duty of adhering to the Church of England rested on a basis somewhat higher than mere acts of parliament, or the patronage of the State, or individual fancy. We were anxious to impress on them, that the Church was more than a merely human institution; that it had privileges, sacraments, a ministry, ordained by Christ; that it was a matter of the highest obligation to remain united to the Church.

In the necessity of such teaching we all concurred most heartily; but no particular arrangements had been made as to the composition or revision of Tracts, their title, form, &c.¹; when the publication of the Tracts commenced, and was continued by several of our friends, each writer printing whatever

¹ The difficulties which were felt in regard to the publication of Tracts by an Association, led to the designed omission of any mention of Tracts in the "Suggestions" which formed the original basis of our Association. I have now before me a paper containing proposed additions to the "Suggestions," in the following terms: "In this early stage of its proceedings, the Association does not feel itself competent to publish Tracts on its own authority; but it invites its friends to write Tracts upon the subjects which are the basis of its union, and undertakes to circulate them, pledging itself to no more than an approbation of the general sentiments they contain."

"Or should it be thought an awkwardness for the Association to circulate Tracts which it is not expressly to sanction, thus:"

"In this early stage, &c. But it invites its friends to distribute Tracts, after first submitting them to the Committee, as well as otherwise exert themselves with a view of recommending the general objects which it is pledged to further."

This addition, however, was not thought advisable. The *revision* of the Tracts, which here seems to be contemplated, was not afterwards approved of. It was even decidedly opposed.

appeared to him advisable or useful, without the formality of previous consultation with others. Several Tracts were thus privately printed and dispersed amongst friends and correspondents in the country. I received these Tracts, which were published during my absence, and aided in their distribution at first, because their general tendency seemed good, though I confess that I was rather surprised at the rapidity with which they were composed and published, without any previous revision or consultation; nor did it seem to me that any caution was exercised in avoiding language calculated to give needless offence. Circumstances had induced me to pay some attention to the writings of Romish and Dissenting controversialists, and it seemed clear that the Tracts contained gratuitous admissions, of which these opponents would almost certainly avail themselves.

Unwilling, however, to interrupt the harmony of our proceedings, I did not at first express my sentiments, further than urging the necessity of greater caution and discretion. The respect and regard due to the authors of the Tracts rendered me anxious to place the most favourable construction on every thing which they wrote, and to hope that my apprehensions might be ill-founded. In the course, however, of the extensive correspondence in the autumn and winter of 1833 which has been mentioned, so many objections were raised by the clergy against parts of the Tracts, and so many indiscretions were pointed out, that I became convinced of the necessity of making some attempt to arrest the evil. With this object I made application in a direction where much influence in the management of the Tracts was exercised, and very earnestly urged the necessity of putting an end to their publication, or, at least, of suspending them for a time². On one occasion I thought I had been successful in the former object, and stated the fact to several correspondents; but the sequel proved that I was mistaken³.

² Note L.

³ This effort is alluded to in Froude's Remains. I cannot but think that Froude's influence, which was very great, was on many occasions exerted in a direction contrary to mine. He has expressed his disapprobation of the only

I did not, however, entirely relinquish the hope of being of some use, and therefore early in 1834, after the conclusion of a protracted visit to London, on the affairs of the Association, I most earnestly urged in the quarter where most influence existed, the absolute necessity of appointing some *Committee of revision*, to which all the Tracts might in future be submitted previously to publication; and that authors should no longer print in the series whatever might seem advisable to themselves. I urged this, on many grounds, and with all the arguments which I could think of, observing that although it was true, that the Tracts were really only the productions of individuals, and although those individuals disclaimed every where the notion that the Tracts emanated from any *body of men*, yet still the mere circumstance of their being published *anonymously*, in the same place, and in a series⁴, did, and would continue to impress the public with a belief, that they were *not* the writings of individuals—that they represented the doctrines held by our Association—and that we should be held responsible for all the statements contained in the Tracts. I observed, that in proposing a system of revision by some Committee, there was not the least wish to lower the tone of doctrine, or to conceal any part of Catholic truth; but that the only object was to obviate the use of mere incautious expressions, of language likely to give needless offence, and to be laid hold of by enemies. It seemed that no sufficient answer was returned⁵. * * * * *

This was the substance of our discussion, which was renewed more than once on successive days; but in the conclusion I had the mortification of finding my endeavours wholly fruitless, and that there was a fixed and unalterable resolution to admit no revision of the “Tracts for the Times.”

It may be, perhaps, that a greater amount of benefit to the Church has resulted from the continuation of the Tracts than

Tract, in the composition of which I was in any degree concerned (Tract 15. “On the Apostolical succession in the English Church.”) At the request of a friend I furnished a few notes for this Tract, which were filled up and expanded by another, so that I am not in any way responsible for the Tract.

⁴ The title of “Tracts for the Times” had not yet been adopted.

⁵ I am not at liberty to publish the remainder of the conversation, including the objections to my proposal.

would have been attained, had these suggestions been adopted. Perhaps, too, others perceived more clearly than I did that my views on doctrine and discipline were not in perfect harmony on all points with those of the writers of the Tracts, and that a Committee of Revision, of which I should have been a member, would really have imposed a far greater restraint on those writers than I should have been conscious of, or designed. Certainly I had, in private conversation with Mr. Froude, and one or two others, felt that there were material differences between our views on several important points. I allude more particularly to the question of the union of Church and State, and of the character of the English and the Foreign Reformers. Mr. Froude occasionally expressed sentiments on the latter subject which seemed extremely unjust to the Reformers, and injurious to the Church; but as his conversation generally was of a very startling and paradoxical character, and his sentiments were evidently only in the course of formation, I trusted that more knowledge and thought would bring him to juster views.

The disappointment which had been experienced in the efforts to obtain some system of revision for the Tracts, and the apprehensions which I could not but feel for the result, together with a growing perception of the differences which existed between my views and those of my colleagues, led to the conviction that any further direct co-operation with them was impossible. I accordingly ceased to take any active part in their proceedings, or to be possessed of that *intimate confidence*, with which I had previously been honoured; while, at the same time, the friendship which had been cemented by a community of principles on the more important and sacred subjects, and by a community of interest and exertion in the cause of the Church, prevented me from adopting any course of opposition which might have been calculated to cause pain or embarrassment⁶.

⁶ Actuated by such sentiments, I could not resolve to allow my name to be mentioned in Mr. Perceval's narrative, because it would have imposed on me an obligation of stating the reasons why I had ceased to co-operate with the authors of the Tracts. The circumstances, however, of the present time, oblige me to lay aside such personal considerations.

But, though thus reduced to silence and inaction, I was a deeply interested spectator of the progress of events. I could distinctly see (and with regret), that the theology of the Non-jurors was exercising a very powerful influence over the writers of the Tracts. Collections of Non-juring works had been made, and Hickes, Brett, Johnson, Leslie, Dodwell, &c. were in the highest esteem. To this source it was easy to trace much of that jealousy of State interference, much of that assertion of unlimited independence of the Church, and above all, much of that unfavourable judgment of the English and foreign Reformation, which so largely characterised the Tracts and other connected works. The Non-jurors, from whom these views were, perhaps unconsciously, borrowed, had been pressed by their opponents with precedents of civil interference in Church matters at the period of the Reformation; and their remedy too frequently was to assail and vilify the Reformation itself⁶. Their separation from the Established Church also led gradually to their discovery of various supposed defects in our Liturgy and institutions. Certain ceremonies which had been prescribed in the first Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI., and which had been subsequently omitted, were represented by several Non-juring writers as essentials; and their views on this subject had been partially adopted by various authors of merit, even in the Church of England, as by Wheatley (in his book on the Common Prayer). Having devoted great attention to the study of the ancient Liturgies, I was perfectly satisfied, that the Non-juring writers (such as Johnson, &c.) were by no means qualified, by the amount of their information, to form a sound judgment on such points. It was, therefore, a matter of great concern to observe, that their views were developing themselves in the writings of friends.

Deeply uneasy as some of us felt on witnessing such questionable doctrine gradually mingling itself with the salutary truths which we had associated to vindicate, and often as we were driven almost to the verge of despair, in observing what appeared to be a total indifference to *consequences*; yet, find-

⁶ Heylin had adopted too much of the same tone in his *History of the Reformation*, and from causes somewhat similar.

ing that more experienced members of the Church, in London and throughout the country, were not equally apprehensive; and seeing also the sort of miraculous success which TRUTH was obtaining, notwithstanding these mistakes; we hoped that all would still be well, and consoled ourselves with the reflection, that no great religious movement had ever taken place without a certain amount of accompanying evil. There seemed also to be little probability that extreme and questionable views would prevail; for they had already become the subject of hot controversy; and the disapprobation which was so generally expressed, would, it might be hoped, have rendered their reception impossible; so that, in fine, they would probably have but little influence, and the only result would be, to establish great Ecclesiastical principles, and a firmer attachment to the English Church, in the public mind.

Had we not been restrained by these considerations and hopes, there can be no doubt, that many of those who have been identified with the Tract theology, would have publicly avowed that dissent on some points, which they took no pains to conceal in conversation with friends. I am satisfied, indeed, that such considerations alone would not have sufficed to keep us silent⁷, had we not been reluctant to join in the ungenerous and furious outcry, which had been raised by certain periodicals; and which confounded and mingled in common denunciation truth and error, the most sacred principles of the Church and the questionable theories of some of its adherents. We shrank from being made the instruments of party-hate; and from seeing our language perverted and distorted to ends the most remote from our intention; perhaps to the assault of truths, which we held most dear and sacred, or to the destruction of brethren, whose principal fault seemed to be indiscretion, and whose faults were more than balanced by their merits and their services.

At this distance of time, and after all the discussion which

⁷ It should be added, indeed, that several leading friends of church principles, such as Dr. Hook and Mr. Perceval, felt themselves obliged at last publicly to announce their dissent on various points.

has taken place in regard to the "Tracts for the Times" and other connected writings, it can hardly be necessary that those who have hitherto studiously refrained from engaging in the controversy, either for or against the Tracts, should deviate from the course which they have so long pursued. Whether their judgment has been right or wrong in preserving silence as far as they could on these agitating topics, and in abstaining from open opposition where they felt that they could not always approve, still it were now, at least, *too late* for them to enter on the discussion. That discussion, indeed, ought to be considered at an end, as regards various points, in consequence of the judgments which have emanated from ecclesiastical authority. It may be that we are not prepared to concur in every particular opinion or statement which occurs in those episcopal judgments. We may also be of opinion, that an unnecessary degree of severity has been exercised in some instances. But on the whole, I am persuaded that the points which have excited the combined animadversion of the majority of those Prelates who have spoken, are points which the great body of those who are really attached to Church principles have never approved; and on which they have always looked with distrust and dissatisfaction.

Admitting, as we do, most cordially and fully, the great services which have been rendered to the cause of truth and of piety by the authors of the Tracts, services which have been acknowledged even by their opponents, and which the chief pastors of the Church have not scrupled to commend in terms of the highest approbation; and deeply sensible as we are that they have established great verities, called attention to some distinctive features of our Church which had been too much neglected, and frustrated the designs of Latitudinarianism: it is still undeniable, that the friends of Church principles have not been able to concur in every position which has been advanced by individual writers connected with the Tracts. They have, indeed, been not unfrequently placed in very serious embarrassment by the incaution of individuals, by indiscreet publications, and actions. They have felt that opponents were, in various ways, furnished with additional objections and arguments, and that they were themselves committed by pro-

ceedings of which they could not approve ; and I really cannot but be of opinion that they have exhibited very great patience and forbearance throughout the whole of these difficulties. If those whose *actual* sentiments have met with opposition have suffered much, surely the position of those who have been exposed to suspicion, jealousy, and enmity, *on account of the sentiments of others which they really disapprove*, is not less distressing. They have, however, endured in silence the imputations under which they labour, when they could easily have relieved themselves by avowing their sentiments, and thus lending their aid to the opposite party. This is a view of the subject which has not been taken : it is really deserving of some consideration. It may suffice at least to show, that those advocates of Church principles who are not prepared to approve of all the theories advanced in "Froude's Remains," or in some particular Tracts, have had their own causes of complaint, and yet have borne them with patience and kindness of feeling.

Explanation seems to be required on one or two points which are commonly misunderstood and misrepresented. The case of Dr. Hampden is one of these.

It was in 1836, that the discussions consequent on the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the chair of Divinity at Oxford, took place. This movement has been generally, but rather erroneously, attributed to the leaders of the Tract Association : they only took some share in it. Dr. Hampden had preached the Bampton Lectures in 1832 ; and an admirable theologian, who heard the concluding discourses, agreed with me, that their tendency was decidedly Rationalistic ; that they went to the extent of representing our articles of faith, and our creeds, as based on merely human and uncertain theories. The publication of these lectures was unusually protracted. In 1834, on occasion of the attempt made to force dissenters on the Universities, Dr. Hampden published his pamphlet on Dissent, in which the boldest latitudinarianism was openly avowed, and Socinians were placed on a level with all other Christians. If any doubt could have existed on the tendency of the Bampton Lectures, it would have been removed by the clue to Dr. H.'s

views furnished by this pamphlet. So great was the excitement of the time, however, when the whole University, banded together as one man, met, confronted, and overthrew the Ministerial attempt to change the character of its institutions⁹, that this pamphlet attracted comparatively little notice. In 1834, soon after the appearance of the pamphlet, the friend mentioned above, urged on me the necessity of some protest against Dr. Hampden's doctrines being made, lest impunity might lead to a repetition of similar attempts against the Articles. It seemed to me, however, that any such measure might be productive of harm, in drawing public attention to statements which, appearing as they did in by no means a popular form, would probably attract but little notice.

Thus stood matters when, early in 1836, Dr. Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity, died. The University was not long in suspense as to his successor. In a few days we were electrified by the intelligence that Dr. Hampden was to be appointed to the vacant chair. This measure seemed a designed insult to the University for its resistance to the Ministry in the preceding years. It was like an attempt to force latitudinarian principles on the Church. It was to place in the chair of Divinity, with the power of instructing and guiding *half the rising Clergy of England*, one who would undermine the authority of our Creeds and Articles. The dangerous principles which, we had hoped, would have remained unobserved, in writings of no very popular character, would now be at once brought into public notice, invested with authority, and received by all the rising generation. Some influential friends therefore of Church principles, unconnected with the Tracts, visited all parts of the University, inviting its members to instant exertion, in the hope of averting the danger by which we were threatened.

The result was, that a meeting was held in Corpus Christi common-room, where we elected, as our chairman, the Rev. Vaughan Thomas, B.D., on whom the independent party had

⁹ On this occasion the Rev. W. Sewell of Exeter College first became generally known to the public by his admirable pamphlets in vindication of the university.

previously fixed, as eminently qualified for the office by his experience, habits of business, ability, eloquence, soundness and firmness of principle, and freedom from party connexions². Our petition to the Throne against this appointment was rejected, and Dr. Hampden became Professor. We met again, and petitioned the Heads of Houses to bring before Convocation a censure of the errors advanced in Dr. Hampden's writings. It had been previously ascertained that the Professor refused to retract a single iota of his doctrines. Again and again was our petition rejected by the majority of the Board of the Heads of Houses, and again did we return to the contest with increased numbers and determination. All divisions and jealousies were forgotten in this noble effort. It was at length successful to a certain extent, and the Heads of Houses concurred in bringing forward a censure on Dr. Hampden (a different measure, however, from what we had desired³), which was passed in Convocation by an overwhelming majority.

That this movement was not guided by the Tract writers, may be gathered from the fact, that the Principal of Brasenose College, afterwards Lord Bishop of Chichester, was the firm and persevering leader of our cause amongst the Heads of Houses, while the permanent committee appointed to prepare our addresses, comprised *four* members who were either opposed to, or in no degree connected with the Tracts, viz. the Rev. Vaughan Thomas, B.D.; the Rev. John Hill, M.A. of St. Edmund Hall, the Rev. Edward Greswell, B.D. of Corpus Christi; and the Rev. W. Sewell, M.A. of Exeter College. Mr. Newman and Dr. Pusey were the other members of the

² We had previously communicated to Professor Pusey our wish that he should not take any prominent part in the affair, and our intention of nominating the Rev. V. Thomas as our chairman—a communication which was received in the kindest and most friendly spirit.

³ Our desire was that the *specific errors* advanced might be censured, in order that the students of theology might be put on their guard: we did not ask for the censure of any *person*. The statute proposed by the Heads of Houses, as a sort of compromise, condemned Dr. H. personally, without specifying his errors. We, however, accepted this measure as the best that could be expected under the circumstances, being satisfied that it was neither unjust nor unprecedented.

Committee, the latter of whom it was essential to appoint in consideration of his rank in the University.

The condemnation of Dr. Hampden, then, was not carried by the Tract writers; it was carried by the *independent* body of the University. The fact is, that had those writers taken any leading part, the measure would have been a total failure; for the number of their friends at that time, bore a *very small proportion* to the University at large, and there was a general feeling of distrust in the soundness of their views. I cannot but regret that the moderation and independence which were then so general, were afterwards superseded to a certain extent, by an extreme devotion to particular opinions on the one side, and a vehemence of hostility on the other, which have been equally injurious to truth and to Christian charity. The independent body was gradually diminished by the removal from the University of several wise, sober-minded, and influential men, who were lost to us, either by preferment or by death. In their place another generation arose, trained in different schools. Hence the development of extreme opinions; the temerity of assertion which day by day seemed to acquire fresh vigour from the reproofs which it encountered; the adoption of questionable rites and decorations in public worship, and the importance which was attached to them: and on the other hand, a jealousy of extreme views, gradually rising into vehement hostility and denunciation. We could even see a kind of personal enmity, which, with a steady and unremitting scent for destruction, tracked and hunted down every fault, each mistake in doctrine, each folly in practice, every unguarded word, or look, or deed; and found in them all damning proof of dishonesty and of all imaginable crimes against the Church of England.

One measure which must have materially, though unintentionally, increased the influence of the writers of the Tracts, was the formation of a Theological Society, in 1835, the meetings of which were held at Dr. Pusey's house in Christ Church. This Society was to be managed by a committee, of which the Regius and Margaret Professors of Divinity were to be *ex officio* members, while the other places were to be occupied by

Mr. E. Greswell, Dr. Pusey, Mr. Newman, Mr. Oakeley of Balliol College. A wish was kindly expressed, that my name should also appear on this committee; but I declined together with Dr. Faussett, Mr. Greswell, and Dr. Burton⁴. Theological essays were read at the meetings of the Society, which were held once a fortnight; and discussion was encouraged at first, but was afterwards discontinued. I attended one of their meetings, and felt by no means satisfied of the wisdom and expediency of the design. Several of the papers read on these occasions afterwards appeared in the "Tracts for the Times." They were listened to by attentive audiences, consisting of bachelors and masters, to the number of fifty, and upwards.

Although there was certainly much occasionally in the pages of the "British Critic," which seemed overstrained and fanciful; much also which savoured of sympathy with Rome, or of a spirit of discontent with the English Church; and although the tide of opposition was continually increasing; yet there was much on the whole for some time to encourage the sincere friends of Church principles. The argument was all on their side: intemperate clamour, invective, unfairness, were wholly on the other. It sometimes occurred to those friends of Church principles, who were not exposed to the brunt of public obloquy, that their warmest sympathies were due to men who, notwithstanding some errors in judgment, were, in fact, standing in the fore-front of the battle, breaking down the reign of ignorance and prejudice, and making way for the gradual prevalence of enlightened principle—for its triumph over even their own mistakes.

It was thus that we were circumstanced, when in 1841 the celebrated Tract 90 was published. I have already spoken of

⁴ I ought to state, that in the communications which passed on this subject, the most earnest wish was expressed by Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman to prevent this Society from assuming any thing of a party character, or developing any peculiar theological system. With this view they endeavoured to associate with themselves men who were wholly independent. Had we been able to meet their wish, some evils might have been obviated: but occupations and difficulties of various kinds interfered.

the spirit of almost personal hostility, which in some quarters was so painfully exhibited towards the author of this Tract. I had with unspeakable concern observed the growth of feelings which I will not trust myself to characterize, and had privately endeavoured in vain to infuse some kinder and more generous temper, to soothe asperities, and to suggest favourable constructions. The untiring persecution which the author of Tract 90 and his friends had sustained, had often excited the displeasure of those who witnessed it. On the publication of Tract 90, we learnt that a furious agitation had been set on foot in the quarter alluded to, and that by dint of condemnatory letters from Prelates and others, which were carried from house to house, and by other similar means, the Heads of Houses were to be urged and almost intimidated into some measure, designed to crush the author of the Tract. I, in common with others (though by no means prepared to concur in some of the interpretations suggested by that Tract, or in some of its other positions⁵), yet made every possible effort to prevent the success of this attempt, because it seemed to emanate from merely personal hostility; to threaten consequences disastrous to the peace of the University and the Church; and, above all, because I could not but apprehend that an opportunity would be taken by party, to represent the censure as a censure of Church principles *in general*—as a blow aimed, not merely against the author of Tract 90, or the Tract Theology, but against the doctrine of Apostolical succession—against all high views and principles—against all that Churchmen are bound to value and defend. Alarmed at this prospect, many influential clergy in various parts of the country concurred in opinion with some members of the University of Oxford, who were unconnected with party, that in consequence of the censure passed by the Heads of Houses, it was necessary to make some public declaration of our attachment to Church principles, and to express our sense of the benefits which had been derived from the writings of those whom it was now attempted to crush. But this undertaking was laid aside in deference to the wishes of an authority to

⁵ Note M.

which our obedience was most justly due; and I am as fully sensible of the wisdom which dictated such injunctions, as of the condescending kindness with which they were conveyed. In the then disturbed state of the public mind, our declaration would have been misunderstood, and might have been only a signal for fresh divisions.

CHAPTER III.

PARTY-SPIRIT—TENDENCY TO ROMANISM.

WHAT has been stated will suffice to show, that dissent in some particulars from the Tracts, and from Froude's views, were combined with personal regard, and with a due sense of the services which had been rendered to the cause of Church principles. I have already disclaimed all intention of entering on the discussion of particular differences; but there are some subjects of a general nature, and so important, that I am impelled to invite the friends of Church principles to a serious examination of them. The subjects to which I allude are, the existence of party-spirit amongst some of the adherents of Church principles, and the tendency to Romanism which has recently been developed.

I would then address myself most respectfully to that large and important portion of the Church, which is, in various degrees, favourable to the principles advocated by the "Tracts for the Times." If warm personal affection and esteem for the principal authors of those Tracts, cemented by the most sacred associations, and never in thought, or word, or deed, diminished; if community of suffering beneath undeserved imputations; if anxiety for the welfare of the Church; if a life devoted, to the utmost extent of limited powers and attainments, to the inculcation of sound and Catholic principles; if some experience, as one who at the very beginning took part in that movement which has exercised so deep an influence; if these constitute any claim on attention, I trust, in humility, that I may be heard.

The eminent men themselves, who have taken so conspicu-

ous a part in the movement connected with the Tracts, are far too humble and too wise, to conceive themselves exempt from the possibility of having made *some mistakes* in matters of opinion and judgment. No men can be more remote from a spirit of dogmatism, or from the wish that their private opinions or statements should become the standard of belief. The very liberty which was claimed for individual developments in the composition of the Tracts, the total absence of any system of revision, are sufficient to prove that the Tracts were merely designed to advocate the truth, without making any sort of pretence to infallibility. Their authors have often, and most sincerely, disclaimed all wish to form a party in the Church; their object was simply to draw attention to *neglected* truths—to appeal to the Church itself as their standard; to be of no other party.

But notwithstanding this, it is not any longer possible to conceal from ourselves the growth of *something like party* amongst some of their friends and admirers. It cannot excite any surprise that such rare endowments, such varied abilities, such noble designs, such abnegation of self, should exercise profound influence on those who came within their immediate sphere. We accordingly witnessed the growth of a feeling, which its objects would have been the first to deprecate had they been fully conscious of it—a feeling of implicit submission—of uninquiring obedience. We even saw every little peculiarity of speech, or gait, or manner, sedulously copied; certain *names* even were heard with awe. Such things, however trivial or amusing in themselves, are, when regarded as indications of the spirit working within, worthy of deep attention. We beheld every peculiarity and novelty of doctrine, every thing that was startling and perplexing to sober-minded men, instantly caught up, disseminated, erected into an article of *Catholic* faith, by young and ardent spirits. Each novelty of this kind became for the moment a sort of *Articulus stantis cadentisve Ecclesie*. We could not but see in this, the growth of an influence most dangerous to the Church, a disposition to create human leaders, to follow them with indiscriminating and headlong fervour, even to urge them onward continually to bolder and stronger proceedings.

In speaking thus, it is not of course meant that the spirit of party which has been alluded to is generally, or even extensively, prevalent amongst those who are favourable to the great principles of the Tracts. Nothing could be more unfounded or more unjust than any such imputation. But, needless as it may be to caution the leading friends of Church principles, as they are exhibited in the Tracts, against a spirit from which they are very far removed, I yet cannot but endeavour to draw their attention to the fact, that there is danger of party-spirit amongst some few of the younger adherents of their cause; that there is too implicit an adoption of the views of individuals; too little tolerance for different opinions; too little respect for constituted authorities, when they are supposed to be, or are, unfavourable to particular tenets.

It is against party,—against the spirit of party, with all its evil consequences,—that I would most earnestly, and with great humility, warn and intreat all who adhere to church principles—to Catholic antiquity. They are *especially* called on to be on their guard against this extreme devotion to the opinions—this zealous vindication of the practices of particular men. The temptation is, I admit, very strong, to draw more closely around those whom persecution in every varied form has been assailing; whose pure-minded and self-denying exertions for the public good have been thus rewarded. But, deep as is this trial to all generous minds, I would intreat them to remember, that the cause of God is yet more sacred than that of men; that it is unlawful to array ourselves under any banner, or unite ourselves in any combination, but that of Jesus Christ, and of his Church. It is a sense of the evils resulting from extreme devotion to certain leaders, the danger of taking human guidance instead of Divine, the divisions thence arising, the opposition aroused and returned with daily increasing irritation, the risk which we run of sacrificing the interests of *truth* itself amidst the unreasoning outcry of popular prejudice, the consequent tendency of things to a state *far more precarious and difficult for churchmen*,—it is the sight of these present and impending evils, which induces me to stretch forth my hands in earnest supplication to my friends, and to all adherents of Catholic principles; and to intreat them to

discourage, to the utmost of their power, party associations and party feeling.

I speak not of the *name* but of the *reality* of party. The apprehension of being *stigmatized* by party *names* for adherence to unpopular principles, should not deter us from following the path of duty; but we are bound by the most solemn obligations to God and his Church, not to permit party spirit *really to influence* our minds, our language, or our conduct; not to range ourselves under leaders, or to say, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas; not to receive implicitly their tenets, or to regard those of different tenets as necessarily wrong or uncatholic, or to withdraw from association and friendship with them, or to limit our association only to those who adopt the fullest extent of the doctrine taught by those whom we especially admire; not to think that piety and goodness are restricted to one set of men in the Church; not to attempt to **FORCE** our opinions and practices on the public, in spite of its evident reluctance and opposition; not to permit in ourselves a tone of irony, or bitterness, or censure, unmingled with charity towards opponents; not to class them together under party names, and thus *assist* in forming amongst *them* the spirit and combinations of party; not to permit ourselves to *feel* unkindness, or irritation, against them, however great may be the amount of ignorance, of prejudice, of manifold infirmities and faults, which we have to encounter. There *was* a time, not long past, when the advocates of Church principles did, universally, exemplify this conduct; when firm and calm in the consciousness of right intention, they listened with charity to the clamour of their opponents. Intemperance, and intolerance, party-feeling, the spirit of sectarianism, appeared not at all amongst them; at least on the surface of things. But the spirit of Newman, Pusey, and Keble, has not been transmitted to all their friends. By the examples of those eminent and holy men, (if no higher motive will avail,) I would beseech their disciples to use more gentleness, to cultivate a greater spirit of charity, patience, forbearance, tolerance.

I must now approach, with the deepest concern, a branch of this subject, which nothing but a sense of duty could induce

me to allude to—the tendency, if not to Romanism itself, yet to the greatest possible approximation towards its views and practices. If the authors of the earlier Tracts—if all advocates of Church principles—if I myself have earnestly desired that the time might come, when the divisions which have for so many ages existed in Christendom, might, through Divine mercy, be removed, and the universal Church from east to west might rejoice in the restoration of its ancient harmony and union—if we endeavoured to remove from amongst ourselves, all scandals, ignorances, narrow-mindedness, which might interpose an obstacle to so grand and glorious a consummation—if we laboured for the restoration of primitive and Catholic principles; for the revival of discipline so grievously collapsed; for the decency and majesty of public worship; in the hope that all other churches might behold our wish for unity, and might, in like manner, remove from themselves all things calculated to offend—if we admitted that the Church of Christ was not limited merely to our own communion, but even that those of Rome and Greece, notwithstanding the prevalence of errors and corruptions amongst them, were still to be accounted as branches of Christianity;—if these were our designs, our motives, our admissions, I think I can answer for all advocates of Church principles, that it was never their design to compromise one particle of religious truth; to diminish in any degree the attachment of our people to the national church; to sacrifice any of its rights, liberties, or laws; to give countenance to superstitious or idolatrous practices; or to subvert the principles of the English Reformation.

The charge of Romanizing tendencies, to which so many advocates of Church principles have been subjected, notwithstanding their exertions in the field of controversy against Rome, did not excite surprise or uneasiness amongst them, because they were well aware that the imputation of Popery is the standing argument of those who have no other mode of resisting the truth. They knew that the Puritans and the Independents imputed Popery to the Church of England herself; that Episcopacy is denounced as Popish by the Presbyterians; the doctrine of the Trinity by Socinians; the retention of Creeds and Articles by Latitudinarians; the Sacraments

by Quakers; the union of Church and State by Dissenters. Satisfied of the truth of their own principles, and of the power of those principles in sustaining controversy with Romanism, they heard, without the least uneasiness, the outcry of "Popery" with which they were assailed by Dissenters; by those whose sympathies were with dissent; and by all the avowed and open enemies of the Church and of the Constitution. They felt daily more satisfied of the strength of their position, when Dissenters, Presbyterians, Romanists, Infidels, and Radicals, united in assailing them. That any tendency to Romanism should ever exist amongst *themselves*; that Church principles should ever become the path to superstition and idolatry; that they or their disciples should ever become alienated from the English Church, never entered their imaginations as possible. When their opponents charged them with such tendencies, the charge was always steadily denied. They availed themselves of every opportunity to clear themselves from the imputation of Popery. They even contended against the errors of Romanism. They had no intention to assist in the propagation of those errors.

I would appeal to the great body of the clergy and laity who have maintained Church principles, whether their honest and sincere *intention* has not ever been to maintain the truth, as much against Romish corruption on the one hand, as against Rationalizing infidelity on the other. They *know* that it has been their earnest endeavour to guard against, not merely the *imputation* of Romanism, but Romanism itself. Individuals, indeed, may have made concessions now and then, which have been laid hold of as indications of a tendency towards Romanism, and which they probably would not have made had they been conscious of the interpretation which would be placed on them. Perhaps almost every one who has written or spoken on these subjects, may have had something to lament in his own expressions. But, however such indiscretions may have been exaggerated, and to whatever surmisings they may have given rise, the advocates of Church principles *themselves* know their real integrity of attachment to the doctrines of the Church of England, and their firm determination to resist the errors and corruptions of Romanism. It is this knowledge, this

humble confidence in their own principle, which has, perhaps, in some instances led them to a degree of candour and liberality in the avowal of their sentiments, which has been misunderstood.

I might appeal, in proof of the sincerity of our opposition to Romanism, and of our attachment to the principles of the English Reformation, to the writings of the great body of our ablest and most popular writers. I might refer to the works of such men as Hook, Perceval, Gresley, Paget, Churton, Manning, Sewell, Gladstone, and very many others. But I would appeal more especially to those writings which have been more than others exposed to the imputation of Romanizing tendencies, and I have no hesitation in saying, that a candid examination of the greater part of the "Tracts for the Times," and of the writings of their authors, will sufficiently prove that (whatever may be thought of their individual opinions on particular points) there is throughout a continual avowal of *opposition to Rome in general*, a strong sense of its corruptions and errors, an earnest wish to resist those errors. Such would seem to be the principle and the feeling, on the whole⁹, to which the Tracts and their writers have given expression, and in which the great body of those who are friendly to them have concurred.

Let me be permitted to bring before the reader some proofs of what has been now said, selected chiefly from the Appendix to Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, "On the *tendency to Romanism imputed* to doctrines held of old, as now, in the English Church." This appendix is entitled "Extracts from the Tracts for the Times, the *Lyra Apostolica*, and other publications; showing that to oppose ultra-Protestantism *is not to favour Popery*."

I first turn to the "Tracts for the Times."

The Tracts maintain, that at the Reformation we were "*delivered from the yoke of Papal tyranny and usurpation*," and from the "*superstitious* opinions and practices which had grown up during the middle ages¹;" that "there is not a word

⁹ I would not be understood to deny that passages may be pointed out, in which we do not perceive that *firmness of tone* which ought to have been maintained.

¹ No. 15. p. 4.

in Scripture about our duty *to obey the Pope*¹;" that "*Luther and others of the foreign Reformers, who did act without the authority of their bishops,*" were justified in so doing²; that one object of the Tracts was to "*repress that extension of Popery*" for which religious divisions are making way³. They profess "*enmity against the Papistical corruptions of the Gospel*"⁴; a persuasion that the Romish "*Communion is infected with heterodoxy; that we are bound to flee it as a pestilence; that they have established a lie in the place of God's truth*"⁵. It is admitted that "*our Church is a true branch of the Church Universal*;" that "*it is Catholic and Apostolic, yet not Papistical*"⁶. Transubstantiation is represented as "*a manner of presence newly invented by Romanists*"⁷. It is declared, that the Romish doctrine of Justification is "*unscriptural*;" that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is "*profane and impious*;" that the denial of the cup to the laity; the sacrifice of masses as it has been practised in the Roman church; the honour paid to images; indulgences; the received doctrine of Purgatory; the practice of celebrating divine service in an unknown tongue; forced confession; direct invocation of Saints; seven Sacraments: the Romish doctrine of Tradition; the claim of the Pope to be universal bishop; and other points, are respectively blasphemous, dangerous, full of peril, gross inventions, at variance with Scripture, corruptions, contrary to Scripture and antiquity⁸. We are told to "apply Vincentius's test—antiquity; and *the Church of Rome is convicted of unsoundness*"⁹. Amongst the "practical grievances" in the Roman communion are, "the denial of the cup to the laity; the necessity of the priest's intention; the necessity of confession; purgatory; invocation of saints; images"¹⁰. It is held, that "*the twelfth century*" was a time "*fertile in false steps in religion*"¹¹; and that "*the addresses to the blessed Mary in the Breviary carry with them their own condemnation in the judgment of an English Christian*;" that these usages "do but sanction and en-

¹ Ib. p. 5.² Ib. p. 11.³ Vol. i. Advert. p. 5.⁴ No. 20. p. 1.⁵ Ib. p. 3.⁶ Ib. p. 4.⁷ No. 27. p. 2.⁸ No. 38. p. 11.⁹ Records of the Church, No. 24. p. 3.¹⁰ No. 71. p. 9.¹¹ No. 75. p. 7.

courage that *direct worship of the blessed Virgin and the Saints*, which is the great practical offence of the Latin Church ⁴."

I next turn to the writings of Dr. Pusey, in which we find the same sort of disapprobation of Romanism.

We read there, that "the Romanist, *by the sacrament of Penance*," would forestall the sentence of his Judge ⁵. The "*corrupt Church of Rome*" is spoken of ⁶. The Reformers who suffered under Mary are entitled "*Martyrs*" ⁷. Rome is described as "*a seat of Antichrist*" ⁸. "The error of Transubstantiation" is said to have "*cast into the shade the one oblation once offered on the cross*" ⁹. Rome is admitted to have forsaken "the principles of the Church Catholic;" and to have "stained herself with the blood of saints" ¹. Our Church, "alone of all the reformed Churches was purified in the fire and *purged by the blood of martyrs*, and had the evidence of affliction that she was a beloved child" ². The idolatries committed in the worship of saints in the Church of Rome (without any protest or objection from her authorities) are amply exhibited in the postscript to Dr. Pusey's Letter on the Articles treated of in Tract 90; and the conclusion of the whole is that "*while these things are so*, although we did not separate from Rome, yet, since God has permitted that Rome should separate us from her, *we see not how the Anglican Church could re-unite with her, without betraying the trust which she owes to her children*" ³."

Few writers have expressed their sentiments more decidedly on this subject than Mr. Newman. A sort of retraction of some strong expressions has, indeed, lately appeared, which is supposed to have proceeded from this eminent writer; but we have no right to infer that such retraction (though it may, perhaps, with some reason have added to the apprehensions which had been previously excited in the minds of Churchmen) was intended to apply to the *general view* which had been taken of the Romish system: it seems only to relate to particular modes of expression. I shall therefore, without hesita-

⁴ Ib. p. 7. 9.

⁵ Pusey on Baptism, p. xiv.

⁶ Ib. xviii.

⁷ Ib. 105.

⁸ Ib. 201.

⁹ Ib. 2nd ed. p. 6.

¹ Sermon on Nov. 5. p. 29.

² Ib. p. 32.

³ Pusey's Letter on Tract 90, p. 217.

tion, refer to the following passages as confirmatory of the views developed in the Tracts, and in Dr. Pusey's writings.

"We agree with the Romanist," he says, "in appealing to antiquity as our great teacher, but *we deny that his doctrines are to be found in antiquity*⁴." We are thus cautioned against making advances to Rome: "If we are induced to believe in the professions of Rome, and *make advances towards her*, as if a sister or a mother Church, which in theory she is, we shall find too late that we are in the arms of a pitiless and unnatural relation⁵." With reference to the doctrine of Purgatory it is said, "it may be shown that its existence is owing to a like indulgence of *human reason*, and of private judgment upon Scripture, *in default of Catholic tradition*⁶." "There have been ages of the world in which men have thought too much of *Angels*, and paid them excessive honour; honoured them so perversely as to forget the supreme worship due to Almighty God. This is the sin of a *dark age*⁷." "We believe" that Popery is "*a perversion or corruption of the truth*⁸." "We are restrained by many reasons from such invocations [of Saints]. . . . First, because the practice was not *primitive* . . . next, because we are told to pray to God only, and invocation may easily be corrupted into prayer, and then becomes idolatrous⁹." "The present authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome, to judge by what we see of it in public, goes very far indeed to substitute another Gospel for the true one. Instead of setting before the soul the blessed Trinity, it does seem to me as a popular system to preach the blessed Virgin and the Saints¹."

In fine, Mr. Keble has spoken of the "*exorbitant claims of Rome*"—its "*undue claims, and pernicious errors*"—its "*image worship and similar corruptions by authority*²." He remarks that "the reverence of the Latin Church for tradition" has been unscrupulously applied "to opinions and practices *of a date comparatively recent*"—that "had this rule (the exclusion

⁴ Newman on Romanism, p. 47.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 102.

⁶ *Ib.* 212.

⁷ Sermons, ii. 400.

⁸ Advert. to vol. iii.

⁹ Vol. iv. p. 207.

¹ Letter to Jelf.

² Keble, Sermon on Primitive Tradition, p. 6. 20.

³ *Ib.* p. 40.

of *novelty*) been faithfully kept, it would have preserved the Church just as effectually from *Transubstantiation* on the one hand, as from the denial of Christ's real presence on the other⁴."

There cannot then, I think, be any doubt in fair and reasonable minds, that the Tracts and their principal writers were opposed to the Romish system *on the whole*; and that they concurred in this with *Protestants*, and with *the Reformers* themselves. It is true, indeed, that individual writers may have made unwarrantable concessions to Romanism on *particular points*; and it is also true, that writers may not be willing to justify every particular expression which they may have employed against Romanism; that they may even have withdrawn language which seems to them to have been unnecessarily strong, offensive, &c.; but, after all, the general principle and spirit of the passages to which I have referred (and which might easily be multiplied) was *opposed to Rome and its corruptions*, and *favourable to the Reformation*.

The repeated and explicit avowals on these points; the anxiety which was evinced to disclaim the imputation of Romanizing tendencies, obtained for the Tracts and their authors the support or the toleration of a great and influential portion of the Church, which would otherwise have been withdrawn. We endured much of what we could not approve—exaggerated views of the independence of the Church; undue severity to the Reformers; too much praise of Romish offices; a depreciating tone in regard to our own; not to speak of views on "Sin after baptism," the "doctrine of Reserve," and other points which were more than questionable: but we were satisfied that the imputation of Romanism was *really* unjust and unfounded; and therefore we could not assume any hostile position. Nor does it seem that any circumstance has yet occurred which should oblige Churchmen to alter their opinion of the general views and the intentions of the authors of the Tracts.

⁴ Ib. p. 45. 47.

⁵ It were to have been wished that the excellent writers alluded to had so expressed themselves at first, as to preclude the necessity for *explanations*, which in such cases often come *too late*. The same remark applies to the anathemas of a respected namesake against "Protestantism," and, in its degree, to Tract 90.

Within the last two or three years, however, a new School has made its appearance. The Church has unhappily had reason to feel the existence of a spirit of dissatisfaction with her principles, of enmity to her Reformers, of recklessness for her interests. We have seen in the same quarter a spirit of—almost *servility* and *adulation* to Rome, an enthusiastic and exaggerated praise of its merits, an appeal to all deep feelings and sympathies in its favour, a tendency to look to Rome as the model and the standard of all that is beautiful and correct in art, all that is sublime in poetry, all that is elevated in devotion. So far has this system of adulation proceeded, that translations from Romish rituals, and “Devotions,” have been published, in which the very form of printing, and every other external peculiarity, have evinced an earnest desire for uniformity with Rome. Romish catechisms have been introduced, and formed the models for similar compositions. In conversation remarks have been sometimes heard, indicating a disposition to acknowledge the supremacy of the See of Rome, to give way to *all its claims* however extreme, to represent it as the conservative principle of religion and society in various ages; and in the same spirit, those who are in any way opposed to the highest pitch of Roman usurpations are sometimes looked on as little better than heretics. The Gallican and the Greek churches are considered unsound in their opposition to the claims of Rome. The latter is held to be separated from *Catholic* unity⁵. The “See of St. Peter” is described as the centre of that unity; while our state of separation from it is regarded, not merely as an evil, but a sin—a cause of deep humiliation, *a judgment for our sins!* The blame of separation, of *schism*, is openly and unscrupulously laid on the English church! Her reformers are denounced in the most vehement terms. Every unjust insinuation, every hostile construction of their conduct is indulged in; no allowance is made for their difficulties, no attempt is made to estimate the amount of errors which they had to oppose. Displeasure is felt and expressed if any attempts are made to expose the

⁵ I cannot but remark on the improper manner in which this term has been used within the last two or three years. It has become the fashion in some quarters to speak of every thing Romish as *Catholic*.

errors, corruptions, and idolatries, approved in the Roman communion. Invocation of saints is sanctioned in some quarters; purgatory is by no means unacceptable in others; images and crucifixes are purchased, and employed to aid in private devotion; celibacy of the clergy—auricular confession, are acknowledged to be obligatory. Besides this, intimacies are formed with Romanists, and visits are paid to Romish monasteries, colleges, and houses of worship. Romish controversialists are applauded and complimented; their works are eagerly purchased and studied; and contrasts are drawn between them and the defenders of the truth, to the disadvantage of the latter. The theory of development advocated in the writings of De Maistre and Möhler (Roman Catholic controversialists), according to which the *latest* form of Christianity is the most perfect, and the superstitions of the sixteenth or eighteenth century are preferable to the purity of the early ages, is openly sanctioned, advocated, avowed⁶. In fine, *menaces* are held out to the Church, that if the spirit which is thus evinced is not encouraged, if the Church of England is not “unprotestantized,” if the Reformation is not forsaken and condemned, it may become the duty of those who are already doubtful in their allegiance to the Anglo-Catholic communion, to declare themselves openly on the side of its enemies. I have no disposition to exaggerate the facts of the case; all who have had occasion to observe the progress of events will acknowledge the truth of what has been said. I would only add, that I hope and believe that the spirit which has been described is only to be found amongst a *very small section* of those who are popularly connected with the advocates of Church principles. I believe it is no secret, that the authors of the Tracts, (several of them at least,) however they may think themselves obliged to tolerate such excesses, are embarrassed by them, and deplore their occurrence. I believe that the great body of their im-

⁶ I cannot avoid observing, that the principle of *development*, as taught by Möhler, and adopted by the “British Critic,” is wholly subversive of that respect for the authority of primitive tradition and of the early Fathers, which was so much inculcated in the Tracts, and in other writings of their authors. The early Fathers and the primitive Church, according to this theory, represent Christianity only *in germ*, and *undeveloped*; we must look to the *latest form* of Christianity, i. e. to modern Romanism, as the most perfect model!

mediate friends concur in this feeling; and, most assuredly, the advocates of Church principles in general most strongly disapprove of the spirit which has now been described, and of the existence of which I am about to furnish detailed proofs.

I will not say that the writers of the Tracts have not been, in any degree, instrumental in drawing forth this spirit; I will not inquire how far it is traceable to the publication of Froude's "Remains," and to the defence of his views contained in the Preface to the second series of the "Remains;" nor will I examine how far it may be a reaction against ultra-Protestantism: it is unnecessary now to enter on this painful and complicated question, on which different opinions may be entertained. One thing, at least, is most perfectly certain: it never was the *intention* of the advocates of Church principles to promote Romanism: they have always been persuaded that their principles do not, by any fair and legitimate reasoning, lead to that system, to which they have ever been conscientiously and firmly opposed; and I am persuaded that they will feel it a duty to offer to the Church every possible pledge of their attachment to her doctrines; that if their names have been employed to sanction any system which generates a spirit of dissatisfaction with the English Church, and tends to the revival of Romish errors and superstitions, they will adopt such measures as may be sufficient to mark their disapprobation of such a system, and their sense of its inconsistency with the principles which they maintain.

Before I proceed further in this painful task, let me, at once, disclaim any unfriendly feeling in regard to those whose opinions will come under consideration. However great and grievous may be our differences; however strong may be the feelings of sorrow, and even indignation, with which the friends of Church principles contemplate the aberrations of some brethren; yet I do most firmly and humbly trust, that those feelings are, and will be in no degree mingled with hostility to those brethren—that "our heart's desire" and our prayer will be for their spiritual and eternal welfare, and for the removal of those shadows, which have (we trust only for a time), fallen on their path. We will not forsake the hope, that if the indiscretions of youthful and ardent minds; if inability

to cope with controversial difficulties; if a too great readiness to receive without examination any theory which may be plausibly advanced; if too great confidence in intellectual power, and in theological attainment, have in fact led to doubts and difficulties; to the unsettlement of principles; to language and conduct which has deeply shocked every sober-minded and orthodox believer; the time may not be far distant, when such evils may be buried in oblivion; and the objects of our present grief and apprehension may have retrieved that good opinion, which has unhappily been, to a certain extent, lost.

The proofs of the tendency to Romanism which I am about to produce, will be chiefly taken from the "British Critic;" but let me not be misunderstood as involving in such a charge, *all the writers* who have contributed to that periodical. Many articles have appeared, which are perhaps *wholly* unexceptionable. Many others are only slightly tinged with objectionable principles. Even in the most Romanizing parts, there is frequently much which we cannot wholly disapprove. Still, there is a decided leaning *on the whole* to Romanism, and there is nothing *in opposition* to this tendency. Even the best articles present no *antidote* to the errors which are to be found elsewhere. They do not sufficiently restore the balance. They contain no refutation of Romish errors; no vindication of the opposite truths; no attempt to revive affection to the Church of England; or to defend her principles or her position. All is unhappily consistent *in fact*, and tends to one system only; though *positive evil* is not found in all the articles. Indeed the excellence of many of them, only renders the danger greater.

I am well aware that I may be exposed to the charge of unfairness in quoting isolated passages. Undoubtedly it is difficult to avoid occasional injustice in such cases; but we are absolutely without any other alternative, unless we were prepared to occupy a space altogether beyond reasonable bounds. I can only say, that I feel very confident, that no substantial injustice will be found in the following delineation.

With a view to obviate any mistakes or misconstructions, I would also premise, that the intention in adducing the following quotations, is only to exhibit *the general character and tendencies of the system*; and that no opinion is meant to be

expressed, as to the extent or nature of the error or impropriety which exists in *each particular quotation*. It is unnecessary, and would require too much space, to enter on such a discussion. We need only establish the general character of the system.

I. The advocates of such a system cannot impute to us any want of *forbearance*: we have often privately protested against the principles developed in the "British Critic;" and yet the writers in that periodical have deliberately continued in their course, under the full and avowed consciousness that it is displeasing to the firmest friends of Church principles; and that it may be injurious to the Church of England. Thus, in the article on Bishop Jewell, in which the question "whether or not the English Reformers be trustworthy witnesses to *Catholic doctrine*" is determined in the *negative*, we find the following passage in reference to this question:—

"If it be urged, on the other hand, that the very agitation of such a question is inexpedient, as tending to unsettle men's minds, and to furnish matter of triumph to our opponents, we can only reply, '*Fiat justitia*,' &c. Or if, again, that the mere disposition to agitate it, can hardly be displayed, *without the risk of pain, if not alienating, some of those whom one least wishes to hurt, and could little afford to lose, then we must close with the lesser of two evils, great as even that lesser is*.'"

In a later number of the same periodical we find the following passage, which distinctly proves, that neither the advice of friends, nor the interests of the English Church, can restrain certain writers from pursuing their course:—

"It is sometimes urged, and in quarters justly claiming our deep honour and respect, that those who feel the real unity in essentials existing among 'high churchmen' in England, *do ill in troubling such unity by making various statements about other Churches which cannot but give offence*. But we answer, that it is not only among English 'high churchmen,' but foreign Catholics also, that we recognize such essential unity. And on what single principle of Scripture or tradition can the position be maintained, to meet the objectors on their own ground, that the *unity of a national Church is the legitimate object of ultimate endeavour*? Both Scripture and antiquity are clamorous and earnest indeed in favour of unity of the Church; *but is the English Establishment the Church?*

If there is to be an armistice, let it be *on both sides*: if various highly-respected persons will agree never to *censure* Rome, it is plain that they will at least be doing their part in removing one reason which exists *for pointed and prominent descants in her praise*.*

Thus, then, our remonstrances are disregarded: the interests of the Church of England are avowedly set aside: it cannot, therefore, be any matter of surprise, if the friends of that Church, if the advocates of her principles, feel themselves obliged to disclaim any alliance, as to views and opinions, with those who have themselves proclaimed their alienation.

II. It is now admitted on all hands, that there is a tendency to Romanism in some quarters. The author of Tract 90 stated, that his object was to keep certain persons from "*straggling in the direction of Rome*":⁹ Dr. Pusey has written at some length on the "*acknowledged tendency* of certain individuals in our Church to Romanism".¹ Difficult as it has been for Churchmen to realize to themselves the strange and almost incomprehensible fact, that any who had ever professed Church principles should have a tendency to Romanism, they have been gradually and reluctantly compelled to admit the lamentable truth. Actual secessions from the Church, few indeed, but yet sufficiently alarming; a change of tone in private society; and above all, the doctrine continually and systematically advanced in the "*British Critic*," can leave no further doubt of the existence of the evil. That evil has been distinctly perceived for more than two years by some friends of Church principles, who have been withheld from taking any decided and open step in opposition, by apprehension lest such a proceeding might have the effect of precipitating events which they would deeply deplore. It seems, however, that there is *more danger* in continuing silent, when we perceive the increasing dissemination of most erroneous and decidedly Romanizing views, under the assumed name of Church principles, and when the advocates of those principles are universally *identified* with doctrines and practices which they most strongly disapprove.

* No. LXIV. October, 1842. p. 411.

⁹ Letter to Dr. Jelf.

¹ The Articles treated of in Tract 90 reconsidered. p. 153—173.

The "British Critic" has for two years been under the influence of those who are *uncertain in their allegiance to the Church of England*, and who cannot be considered as friendly to her. Of this assertion it is but too easy to bring abundant proof. I shall select a few passages from the successive numbers of this periodical.

In the Article on Bishop Jewell, the Reformation is described as "a *desperate remedy*," nay, almost "a *fearful judgment*." Bishop Jewell, who is represented "as a *very unexceptionable specimen of an English Reformer*," is condemned as a heretic⁴. We are openly advised to "withdraw our confidence" from the English Reformers⁵.

"To call the earlier Reformers *martyrs* is, [we are told,] to beg the question, which of course Protestants do not consider a question; but which no one pretending to the name of Catholic can for a moment think of conceding to them, viz., whether that for which these persons suffered was '*the truth*.'"² "Were the Church of England to be considered as in any degree pledged to the private opinions or individual acts of her so-called Reformers . . . One does not see how in that case persons who feel with Mr. Froude's Editors . . . *could consistently remain of a communion so fettered*. Mr. Froude's Editors have thrown out a rope which, *whether trustworthy or not*, is at all events *the only conceivable means of escape for persons in a very embarrassing position*; and for this act of kindness they deserve our thanks, *however we may pause*, as is very natural and even prudent, before availing ourselves of the proffered aid. The question then is this; viz. How persons cordially believing that the *Protestant* tone of thought and doctrine is essentially *Antichristian* . . . *can consistently adhere to a communion* which has been made such as it is, in contradistinction from other portions of the Catholic Church, chiefly through the instrumentality of persons *disavowing the judgment of Rome*, not merely in this or that particular, but in its general view of Christian truth?"³

The solution of this difficulty proposed is the view lately advanced by a "Party which may be considered as represented in the Preface to the Second Part of Mr. Froude's Remains," that the doctrines of the English Reformers may be separated from those of our formularies⁶. It seems that this solution does not afford satisfaction: "One advantage amongst others,

² No. LIX. p. 1.

³ Ib. p. 9.

⁴ Ib. p. 30, 31.

⁵ Ib. p. 4.

⁶ No. LIX. p. 14.

⁴ Ib. p. 32, &c.

⁷ Ib. p. 28.

of such a view *if it will but hold*," &c. So that, in fine, the reader is left *in doubt* whether there is any sort of justification for his remaining in the communion of the English Church! The party which thus avows the uncertainty of its allegiance to our communion, announces, at the same time, what is to be the mode of its operations as long as that communion is not renounced.

"It ought not to be for nothing; no, nor for any thing short of some vital truth . . . that persons of name and influence should venture upon the part of 'ecclesiastical agitators' . . . An object thus momentous we believe to be the *unprotestantizing* (to use an offensive but forcible word) of the National Church . . . It is absolutely necessary towards the consistency of the system which certain parties are labouring to restore, *that truths should be clearly stated which as yet have been but intimated, and others developed which are now but in germ. And as we go on, we must recede more and more from the principles, if any such there be, of the English Reformation*."

This open avowal of a determination to agitate with a view to alter the character of the Church of England, and to recede from the principles of the Reformation, proves the existence of designs to which every churchman is bound to offer his strenuous opposition. But I proceed to further proofs of dissatisfaction with the Church.

In a subsequent number of the same periodical we have the following expressions introduced by a quotation from the Romish controversialist Möhler, comprising the doctrine of development.

"This state of things [the development of doctrine in the Catholic Church united in communion] has come to an end. The Church has broken off visible unity and divided against herself; *no one branch* [not even the English Church!] *retains the faithful image of primitive doctrine* . . . That no branch has yet *forfeited* the power of communicating the gifts of grace, this we humbly *trust*; but . . . in vain will the humble and teachable disciple look at this moment in the ENGLISH CHURCH for one uniform pervading spirit which may guide him in his religious course . . . To refer inquirers to *primitive tradition*, essential though it be, is far from being all that is wanted¹."

In this distress, the English Church being pronounced in-

⁹ Ib. p. 45.

¹ No. LX. p. 333, 334.

adequate to satisfy our wants, our only resource, it seems, must be, "To make ourselves *in heart* a Catholic Church, to cling *anxiously* to the marks of the Holy Ghost *wherever* we can find them²." We are reminded, that the especial note which would attach certain minds, "the image of a true Christian Church living in that apostolic awe and strictness which carries with it an evidence that they are the Church of Christ, *is the very one which is now most signally wanting*" amongst us.

The cause of the Church is, without scruple, sacrificed, whenever certain theories seem to require it. Thus we have in one place a series of arguments to prove that *Scripture in its more obvious meaning is favourable to the objections of Dissenters and other Protestants* against rites and ceremonies and the ecclesiastical system in general; the object being to show, that the private and unbiassed interpretation of the Bible is dangerous and mischievous³. I cannot but think that sufficient arguments may be adduced against the abuses of private judgment, without *pleading the cause of Dissenters*⁴.

On a subsequent occasion, the Church of England is charged with

"A 'sort of Antinomianism,' i. e. an establishment or creed, the means of grace necessary to salvation, and some formularies for the most important occasions, *without* a system of religious customs, and practices, and acts of faith, sufficiently numerous, distinct, and specific, to satisfy the wants and engage the attention of the Christian soul⁵."

We are informed, that

"The last remnants of the ancient Catholic system, with all its native good as well as its engrafted evil, had been withdrawn [in the English Church], and . . . the glorious privilege of teaching and training the elect to Christian perfection was taken away from the Church⁷."

² Ib. p. 334, 335.

³ Ib. p. 364.

⁴ Ib. p. 424—427.

⁵ It is elsewhere contended, that the whole body of ceremonial in the Church is intimately connected with the Catholic doctrine of the Mass; and that if, e. g. surplices are used, except as connected with that system, they are mere formalisms, and burdens on conscience. Thus again Dissent and Puritanism are justified. See No. LIX. p. 24.

⁶ No. LXI. p. 44.

⁷ Ib. p. 53. The right of pointing out defects in the Church of England is contended for, No. LXV. p. 224. We are elsewhere advised to "claim the right" of holding that the Reformation introduced worse corruptions than it removed. No. LXII. p. 270.

It seems difficult, if this be the case, to suppose that the English forms any part of the Christian Church.

The question of actual separation from our communion and adhesion to that of Rome, would seem to be as yet *undecided* : an opinion is very guardedly expressed, that *at present* such steps are not to be taken by *individuals*. The Romanists, it is said,

“ Seem almost to rejoice more over the accessions to their number, caused by mere argument, or mere imagination, *than over all the indications, now so general, of reviving earnestness, which* (we are arguing with them all along on their own principles) *would seem to promise, in due time, a far more plentiful, and incomparably more valuable reinforcement . . . the very proximity of doctrine between the English and Roman Churches . . . must the more make it a matter for grave and mature deliberation, before a decisive step is taken.* We repeat, we are speaking *ad homines*; our own opinion, as we have before expressed, is, that *individuals* would, at present, act (in the abstract) quite unwarrantably in leaving us for Rome⁸.”

III. Let us contrast with this systematic disparagement of the Church of England, these avowed difficulties in continuing in communion with her, the equally systematic and unscrupulous approbation and adoption of Romish doctrines and practices; their identification with *Catholicism*, the terms in which the See of Rome is mentioned, the disposition to make common cause with it, even against the more moderate of its own adherents.

“ We talk of the blessings of ‘emancipation from the Papal yoke,’ and use other phrases of a like *bold and undutiful tenour* . . .⁹ We trust, of course, that active and visible union with *the See of Rome* is not of the essence of the Church; at the same time we are deeply conscious that in lacking it, far from asserting a right, *we forego a great privilege*¹.

“ *The lights of the Church* in the middle age, *Hildebrand, Becket, Innocent*” [these being the chief supporters of exaggerated views of the Papal authority].

The monastic system, and the superior sanctity of the Roman Church, are advocated in the following terms :—

“ Is it visionary to expect, that he who leads the life *most nearly of all earthly things resembling the divine*, [i. e. the monastic life,] shall have

⁸ No. LXII. p. 294, 295.

⁹ No. LIX. p. 2.

¹ *Ib.* p. 3.

² *Ib.* p. 15.

truer sympathy with, and so fuller understanding of *words that are divine*? [i. e. Christian doctrine]. . . . Let it be observed whether those who are so loud in their protests on the *uselessness* of a life of seclusion, believe in *any true sense the efficacy of intercessory prayer*. . . . Is it the active *Protestant* or the contemplative *Catholic* who has sent forth the *sisters of Charity and Mercy, the devoted priest, the zealous missionary*? Let not the question then be ruled on the *Protestant* side, till something be done to make both reasoning and fact *less exclusively on the Catholic*” [the latter being evidently the *Roman Catholic*].

The following note is appended:—

“It is far from our wish to *disparage* the efforts of Protestant missionaries, many of whom deserve our deep reverence and gratitude; still let the long quotation made by Mr. Oakeley from the ‘*Eclectic Review*’ (the organ of a class of dissenters), in the Preface to his *Whitehall Sermons*, be well considered. . . . We are free to confess, that for zeal and entire devotedness to their object, we know of few missionaries that surpass, or indeed at all equal, those of the Romish Church³.”

Amongst other evidences of a “*holy life*” which are held up to our admiration, in the case of La Mère Angélique, are, “*prayer before the Sacrament, as soon as the perpetual adoration [of the Eucharist] was instituted at Port-Royal*”;⁴ the use of “*shirts of hemp, in which the splinters of the stalks were left*”;⁵ the harbouring of vermin; the use of “*disgusting*” food⁶. It is held questionable, whether some saints have not been “*even marked externally by the semblance of the five adorable wounds*”.⁷ We are left in doubt, whether the healing of a young lady by a *thorn*, “*said to have been one of those that pierced our Saviour*,” was miraculous or not. It is argued, however, that one would naturally look for such miraculous events in *monasteries*, “*where persons take the kingdom of heaven by violence, and begin on earth the life of angels, neither marrying nor giving in marriage*”.⁸”

Such passages as the following speak for themselves:—

“The idea that to a Christian believing all the astounding mysteries which are contained in the doctrine of the incarnation, the further belief in the real presence, *even to the extent of the Tridentine definition*, is a serious additional tax on his credulity, is not tenable for one moment⁹.”

³ No. LX. p. 317.

⁵ Ib. p. 386.

⁸ Ib. p. 403.

⁴ Ibid.

⁶ Ib. p. 389, 390.

⁹ No. LXIII. p. 71.

⁷ Ib. p. 401.

The Pope is spoken of as "*the Primate of Christendom*," as "that pontiff, whom, to say the least, all antiquity, with one voice pronounced the first bishop in Christendom." We are reminded of the "*surprising* number of texts to which Bellarmine appeals" in favour of *Purgatory*¹. In allusion to pilgrimages, and the anniversary feasts of patron saints in churches, which are founded "*on a firm belief, that devotions paid in particular places had a special efficacy about them,*" we have this remark:—

"So natural is this feeling that it is really wonderful how it has been possible so thoroughly to root it out of the English mind. Cruel and hard hearted indeed were those who made *the baneful attempt*, and have gained *such a mournful victory* . . . *Processions and pilgrimages are useful, &c.* . . . It is a mere fact . . . that the peasant does find consolation in praying at places hallowed by the devotions of former generations. Let them at least enjoy the delusion, say benevolent persons; *the prayers of the saint* may have no power to save her child, but still the mother may as well fancy that they have⁴," &c.

With reference to the Papacy we have the following:—

[The Pope is] "*the earthly representative of her [the Church's] Divine Head*" . . .

"The Holy See [is] *the proper medium of communion with the Catholic Church*" . . .

"*The Church* suffered also in the person of *its head*, Pius VI." . . .

"Many persons about [Napoleon] are known to have urged him to set up a Gallican church without communion with the rest of Christendom. With that strange instinct, however, which extraordinary men possess, he rejected the idea; he would have his Church *Catholic* . . . and the notion of a *Catholic Church out of communion with Rome* does not seem to have struck him . . . *From Rome alone* could the despot obtain possession of *the heavenly powers* of which he wished to make use⁶" . . .

¹ No. LX. p. 431.

² No. LXII. p. 266.

³ *Ib.* p. 296.

⁴ No. LXIV. p. 283.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 289.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 290. It is quite curious to observe how, on all occasions, this devotion to the Papal See manifests itself. *The Gallican Church* was unfavourable to the claim of infallibility and absolute power advanced by the popes: Gallicanism is condemned by the "British Critic" (No. LXIV. p. 285); and its opponent, M. De Maistre, receives the most unqualified praise (No. LX. p. 365). *Jansenism* is obnoxious to Rome; its defence is disclaimed by the "British Critic" (*Ibid.*) The Pope condemns certain Roman Catholics at *Gibraltar*, who appeal to the temporal courts against some alterations introduced by a new "Vicar Apostolic:" the "Critic" takes part, of course, with the Pope (No. LX. p. 271). The *Con-*

It is intimated that the *Papal excommunication* of Napoleon was amongst the principal causes of his ruin :—

“This little act of the Pope is almost imperceptible; but who knows *what unseen powers* fought with England against him whom *the Church had condemned* ?”

It is contended, that our *Reformation* was in spirit *Calvinistic*; that a *noble* episcopate reclaimed us from Calvinism; and that this episcopate was *inclined to a union with Rome*⁷. Whatever may be the foundation for such a statement, I cannot but think, that the object for which it is advanced, namely, the justification of an attempt to alter the doctrine of the English Church, and to assimilate it to Romanism, renders it most highly reprehensible.

Romanism is thus identified with Catholicism :—

“The exemption by special gift from venial sin is believed by *most Catholics* to be a privilege appertaining to the blessed Virgin . . . We must *abandon* either this pious belief, *and the religious devotion to the θεοτόκος connected with it*, or the heresy advocated by Dr. Whately⁸.”

[We are informed that Rome is] “she to whom we should *naturally turn*, our *Mother in the Faith* . . . [and reminded of] that feeling of regard and affection (*we should rather say deep gratitude and veneration*) which is her due⁹.”

I must abstain from multiplying proofs of a tendency, which is but too evident¹.

stitutional Church in France, and “*la petite église*,” are condemned by the “*Critic* :” they were both opposed to the papal authority. (No. LXIV. p. 286. 290.)

⁷ No. LXIV. p. 295.

⁸ Ib. p. 385.

⁹ Ib. p. 397.

¹ Ib. p. 402.

² From the manner in which the works of Romish theologians, the lives of Romish saints, the decrees of popes, the Council of Trent, &c. are continually quoted in the “*British Critic*,” without any intimation that they represent a system different from that of the writers, one would really often suppose oneself to be perusing a Roman Catholic publication. The illusion is heightened by the repetition of most *violent* attacks on “*Protestantism*.” I cannot but remark on the extreme temerity of those who thus indiscriminately and vehemently condemn and assail “*Protestantism*,” when they ought to be aware that the term, in its ordinary meaning, *i. e.* as implying *opposition to the See of Rome and to Popery*, includes nothing to which any member of the English Church can object. We may not, indeed, think it advisable to designate our Church or our religion by a term which gives them a merely negative or a controversial character: but *in a certain sense, and on proper occasions*, individuals need not hesitate to avow themselves “*Protestants* :” and certainly recent tendencies have rendered it necessary to maintain the term. On this subject the reader may profitably consult Dr. Hook’s *Church Dictionary* (article, *PROTESTANT*).

There are, however, some important principles of the writers in question, to which attention must be drawn.

IV. The principles to which I allude are of the most wide and comprehensive character, and tend to the restoration of Romanism in its fullest extent, and the total subversion of the Reformation.

1. The doctrine of *development* (derived from the writings of De Maistre and Möhler, in which it is employed for the defence of Romanism) has been received without hesitation, and is now both privately and publicly advocated. Romish controversialists have, within the last few years, devised this mode of evading the objection which is founded on *the silence of primitive tradition*, in regard to the papal supremacy, the worship of Saints and Angels, and other Romish doctrines and practices; or on *its actual opposition* to Rome in such points. For a long time Romanists evaded this difficulty, by alleging the existence of *unwritten tradition in the living Church*, as a sufficient proof of the apostolic origin of the points in question. The uncertainty of such tradition being sufficiently apparent, they next resorted to the principle of *Reserve*, or the *Disciplina Arcani*, which accounted for the silence and apparent opposition of antiquity, by pretending that the Fathers systematically *abstained* from the mention of certain doctrines and practices, either through reverence, or from the fear of misapprehension. The weakness of this system having been demonstrated, the modern defenders of Romanism have adopted a new theory, which is essentially opposed to those of their predecessors. They have adopted the bold expedient of *avowing* that their doctrines receive but little aid from the testimony of primitive antiquity—that in fact, the early Church was perhaps *unacquainted* with those doctrines, since it is the nature of Christianity to *develope itself gradually* in the course of ages, and under change of circumstances; so that Christianity in the *middle ages*, was more perfectly developed than in the primitive times: it was the expansion of a system which existed at first, merely *in germ*; and probably, on the same principle, the *existing system* of the Roman Catholic Church may be still more perfect than that of the middle ages, and be itself less perfect than that which is to be hereafter.

Undoubtedly there is much in this theory which is pleasing to the imagination. The notion that Religion—that Divine truth, is capable of continual progress ; that we may look for developments corresponding to the advance of art and science, and analogous to the processes of change which we see operating in the natural world around us, has very great temptations to the human mind. That it has, we need no further proof than the fact that this theory is upheld by Soci-nians and other Rationalists ; the principal difference between their system and that of the philosophical Romanists above alluded to, being, that the latter attribute to the Church that office of development which the former assign to the reason of individuals. This is not the only affinity between the systems : it is the well-known tendency of Rationalism to disregard the sentiments of former ages ; to esteem itself superior in knowledge to the primitive Church. Now the doctrine of development has the same tendencies ; it leads to the conclusion, that the religion of the present day is more perfect than that of the early Church : it teaches us so far *to set aside the testimony of Catholic antiquity*, on pretence, that religion was then but imperfectly understood.

But on what ground is this theory maintained ? It would seem to be *a merely philosophical theory*, based on analogies in nature, which have no necessary connexion with Revelation³. Scripture does not announce any gradual development of Christian truth : it speaks of “the faith *once* delivered to the Saints ;” of delivering “the *whole counsel of God* ;” it supposes throughout that “all truth” was made known to the Apostles, and by them to the Church. The principle of the Church has always been, *to hand down and bear witness to the Catholic verities which she received from the Apostles*, and not to argue, to develop, to invent. Her decisions are but the expressions of the belief which she has always entertained. Such, at least, is the *principle* which has been always avowed ; and which has hitherto been asserted by Romanists themselves. On *novelties*—on doctrines or practices, either unsupported by the evidence of

³ The author has offered some remarks on the theory of development, as advocated by De Maistre and Möhler, in the third edition of the Treatise on the Church, vol. ii. p. 443—445.

Scripture and Antiquity, or inconsistent with them, the Church has always looked with jealousy and suspicion. It would seem that those who uphold the theory of development, are rather inconsistent in regarding *Mediæval* Christianity as the model of perfection, whereas, according to their principle, the system of the Roman Church *at the present day* ought to be implicitly adopted.

That *Theology* is capable of development in a certain sense ; that Reason under the guidance of Faith, may do much to systematize, harmonize, illustrate ; and that lawful and edifying practices may be introduced by the Church in different ages, is quite certain.

I am not prepared to say, that *inferences* may not be legitimately deduced from Scripture, and that such inferences or "developments" can never be matters of faith³. Nor, of course, would it be possible to maintain that inferences may not have been *gradually* made in the course of ages ; but there is certainly danger in theorizing on this important subject without sufficient care and discrimination. There is the more necessity for caution, because it would seem that various doctrines and theories are, at present, comprehended under the common term of "Development." The term is variously employed in the sense of "practical application ;" "inference ;" "expansion ;" "detailed statement ;" and of course such various uses of the term naturally lead to confusion. If I may be permitted to express a doubt on the subject, I would say, with deference to better judgments, that it is questionable whether an eminent writer has sufficiently distinguished between different theories and notions in his recent view of the doctrine⁴. In advocating in general the propriety of making developments or dogmatic inferences and statements under the Gospel, it seems that attention is not sufficiently drawn to the different senses in which the right of development is contended for, and to the great practical distinctions which exist between developments in those different senses. That there is such a difference is indeed evident. "Ideas and their developments,"

³ This question has been considered by the author, in the Treatise on the Church. Part III. ch. ii.

⁴ Sermons before the University, by the Rev. J. H. Newman. (Serm. XIV.)

it is said, "are not *identical*, the development being but the carrying out of the idea into its *consequences*. Thus the doctrine of Penance may be called a development of the doctrine of Baptism, yet still it is a *distinct doctrine*; whereas the developments in the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation are *mere portions of the original impression, and modes of representing it, &c.*" Thus, then, there are "developments" which are *inferences* from Revelation, and there are also "developments" which are mere *expressions* of Revelation. There is a wide and essential difference between these things. The former need not be, properly speaking, articles of Revelation or Faith: they may be theological truths: they may not have been deduced in the primitive ages; they need not be articles of Catholic Faith. The latter have been at all times held substantially by the Church; they are comprised in Scripture, if not literally, yet in its spirit and meaning; they are mere *expressions* of *quod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus creditum est*; they can only be novel in form; they are in spirit and life identical with "the Faith once delivered to the Saints." The "numerical Unity of the Divine Nature," or the doctrine of "the Double Procession," may not have been defined by any Council till the thirteenth century⁶, but certainly those doctrines are really, in their orthodox sense, comprised in the true meaning of Holy Scripture; and the testimony of Christian antiquity is sufficient to prove that the Church was never ignorant of them. These Catholic doctrines, and others included in the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, should not be confounded with mere theological dogmas deduced from the truths of Revelation by the action of reason; lest in advocating both on the same principles and in the same mode, the Faith should be in danger of being mingled with the doctrines of men⁷.

⁵ Ibid. p. 331.

⁶ Ibid. p. 324.

⁷ I am not quite prepared to concur in the statement, that "the controversy between our own Church and the Church of Rome lies, it is presumed, in the *matter of fact*, whether such and such developments are true (*e. g.* Purgatory a true development of the doctrine of sin after baptism), not in the *principle* of development itself." (Newman, *ubi supra*, p. 321.) It seems to me, that it is a question of *principle*, whether developments, in the sense of *inferences made by human reason*, are, or are not always to be considered as articles of Catholic

The doctrine of the Discourse alluded to, would appear simply to maintain the *possibility* of developments, in the sense of "clearer statements," and "inferences," being made in the course of ages. But there is *another doctrine* afloat on this subject; and it were to have been wished, that the eminent writer above mentioned had taken some notice of a view, which is undoubtedly prevalent in some quarters. It is, in short, maintained, that the Christian Revelation may be compared to a plant which only gradually attains its perfection; and further, it is conceived, that, in point of fact, all the additions and innovations in doctrine and practice made during the middle ages, *were not corruptions, but developments*—that *e. g.* the Papal power; Transubstantiation; Purgatory; Indulgences; the worship of Images, the Virgin, and the Saints, &c. are certainly or (at least) not improbably, *developments* of Christianity. If you urge the *silence* of Scripture, or of the Fathers and Councils; or their apparent *inconsistency* with Romish doctrines or practices, the reply is at hand:—"The doctrines or practices in question, were not *developed* during those ages." Thus it is continually *assumed*, that Romanism is the development of Christianity; and this assumption apparently rests on the further assumption, that whatever is extensively prevalent in the Church—whatever is allowed or tolerated by her authorities, *cannot be a corruption*⁸.

I cannot now discuss this very extensive subject. It will have been sufficient to have directed attention to the dangerous theories which are afloat. It is not easy to see what may be the termination of such theories. Romanism may not be the only eventual gainer from that theory of Christianity, which supposes it to have existed originally *in germ* only.

Faith. If the modern theory of development be true, these developments are as Divine, and as much parts of Christianity as the great articles of the Creed. The doctrine of Purgatory, as a *development*, must be as binding as that of the Trinity; the worship of the Virgin, or of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, as necessary as the worship of God. Processions, Pilgrimages, Monastic Vows, the perpetual adoration of the Sacrament, Indulgences, &c. must be as sacred and as necessary as the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist.

⁸ That errors, corruptions, and idolatries, may exist extensively in the Universal Church, the writer has endeavoured to prove, in his Treatise on the Church, vol. i. p. 82—94; vol. ii. p. 101—112. 3rd edition.

There is a subtle Rationalism in such a notion ; nay, something still worse, if possible. If the Gospel is to be developed by reason ; if its lineaments are to be filled up by the human mind ; if it was originally *imperfect* ; is there not some danger of supposing that, after all, it is only a philosophy, a science, a creation of the intellect ? And again, if its processes are analogous to those which we see in nature, may not the inference be drawn that, like them, it has its period of decay as well as perfection ; of extinction as well as of germination ? A germ infers growth indeed, and change, but it also infers *corruption and death*. On this principle, may not the corruption of religion be considered a law of Divine Providence ? so that those who regard the Reformation as an *evil*, may be, after all, only opposing such a law ; and, in fine, may not Revelation itself be supposed to have concluded its course—to have lost its vitality ? I see not how, when men once begin to theorize on the development of the Christian religion, they are to prevent such speculations, or to answer them. They may discover, too late, that a philosophy which has commenced its speculations in the service of Romanism, may have found its legitimate conclusion in Rationalism, or in St. Simonianism.

I have been lately informed, that the philosophy of development is taking new and ominous forms in Germany. An eminent philosopher has applied it to the doctrine of the Trinity ; Duality being supposed to be the development of Unity, and Trinity that of Duality ; and really one does not see what is to prevent speculative men from conceiving, that Polytheism may be only the development of Monotheism. In point of fact, doctrines more or less nearly allied to this, are to be found in the theological and philosophical systems of Brahmanism and other oriental systems of Idolatry. Nor is there apparently any stronger presumption that the corruptions of Romanism are developments of primitive Christianity, than that the systems of ancient and modern Paganism are developments of the primitive religion of the world. I cannot therefore but feel and express the deepest uneasiness at the introduction of theories which may lead to incalculable evils.

The theory of development has been repeatedly put forth

in the *British Critic* within the last two years, though not to its full extent. The works of Möhler indeed, and De Maistre, in which it is employed in defence of Romanism, are favourite authorities with this periodical. The following passage from the former writer is quoted immediately after the announcement, that the "French translation . . . *has just come to hand*":—

"The identity of the Church's knowledge at different epochs of its existence, in no way requires a mechanical and stationary uniformity . . . this knowledge develops itself, this life extends more and more widely, becomes more precise, clearer; the Church attains the age of manhood . . . Tradition then contains within itself the successive *developments* of the principal germs of life . . . This development . . . arrives at maturity at the period of the great Councils of the Church¹."

This theory is adopted, and referred to again and again². But whatever may be the real views of some of the writers in that periodical, we do not find them *directly maintaining* that Romanism *actually is* the development of Christianity. They are contented to hint that such *may be the case*. It is *only suggested*, that the whole *Mediæval* system, the *Papal power in its full extent*, the *worship of Saints and of the Virgin*, the *doctrine of Purgatory*, &c. are *developments* of primitive Christianity, and have the same claims on our "unqualified sympathy."

"How painful a reflection to any one, who has imbibed so much of the Catholic spirit, as to burn for union with all those who so much as bear the name of Christ . . . that all this agreement [in great matters] is felt as yet to give no sufficient scope for genuine, hearty, unsuspicious sympathy, from the vivid perception we have of mutual differences, on points which, if less fundamental, are unhappily felt as even more obtrusive and (in a sense) practical! . . . These differences . . . are doctrinally perhaps reducible to this question; viz. *how far does the Mediæval Church demand our unqualified sympathy?* How far may it be considered as the very same in its claims upon us with the earlier Church, as being the external exhibition of the very same spirit, changed only in that it is in a further state of growth, and that the external circumstances with which it has to cope are so widely different? And in speaking of the Mediæval Church's exhibition, we are far of course from confining our view to the mere formal statements of doctrine made at that period; we

¹ No. LX. p. 329.

¹ Ib. p. 332.

² Ib. p. 433.

extend it to *the whole system*, which virtually received the Church's sanction: though on the other hand we may equally claim to consider that system apart from incidental, local, temporary, or popular corruptions." . . .

"It may be, that while our mind is fixed on high doctrines and primitive faith, and occupied with nothing less than our present divisions—it may be that 'God will reveal even this unto us;' that *many questions connected with later ages*, may present themselves in new, and (as we shall then understand) far clearer colours. How far the special prerogatives, attached from the very first to the *Roman See*, would prepare us for the circumstance as healthy, and natural, and designed by God's Providence, that when the Church's dependence on the civil power, which succeeded to its state of depression and mutual isolation should in its turn give way to the period of its independent action, that at such time, St. Peter's chair *should obtain an unprecedented and peculiar authority*: or how far the honour (to modern notions most superstitious and extravagant) paid in early times to Martyrs, marks the existence of a principle, which, when the special ages of martyrdom have passed, would display itself in honour of a different kind . . . to *Saints generally, and to the Mother of God*: or how far the idea, universally prevalent in the early Church, on some unknown suffering to be undergone between death and final bliss, would have its legitimate issue in the doctrine . . . at the time of the Council of Florence [*Purgatory*]; or what light the primitive view of *celibacy* would throw on later periods: or what light is thrown on the general question of doctrinal *development* . . . these are questions which" [depend on knowledge of Church history] ³.

In private society however the doctrine of development is more openly advocated, and carried out to its results. There are individuals, who on this principle look on the Papal supremacy, the invocation of Saints, &c. as divinely instituted.

2. In perfect harmony with this theory, is the unwillingness to permit any censure or disapprobation of "Romish corruptions," or to allow their existence⁴. The religion of the middle ages is represented as being in essential respects superior to our own⁵. With reference to the worship of saints and angels, it is said:

"Till we not only come to believe, but in some fair measure to *realize* these solemn truths [the belief in guardian-angels, &c.], and make them part of our *habitual thoughts, of our whole spiritual nature*, we are no fair

³ No. LXIV. p. 408, 409. See also LXV. p. 111. The works of Aquinas, Bonaventura, and the other schoolmen, on which the Roman theology is based, are assiduously recommended in the successive numbers of this periodical.

⁴ No. LXV. p. 223. 229.

⁵ No. LX. p. 303; LXV. art. iv.

judges of their corruptions as existing in other churches. We have no wish to apologize for superstition or idolatry; but if we having only so recently recovered . . . these truths, go out of our way unnecessarily to pass judgment on their *practical action*, &c. . . will not Matt. vii. 5. ['Thou hypocrite!' &c.] rise up against us in judgment at the last day ¹."

In another place those who profess "high church" principles are requested to abstain from severe condemnation of the mediæval system, on the following view:

"That many doctrines and practices were then sanctioned, *very alien to the system in which he* [a Churchman] *was trained, and far from congenial to his own mind*, of this such a person may be well aware; and as this is quite sufficient to guide his own practice, so surely it is all which *charity* can altogether justify him in maintaining ²."

We are, then, to content ourselves with abstaining from what we think superstitious or idolatrous, and to permit others without warning to embrace such practices. This seems a new view of Christian charity!

3. One legitimate conclusion of the theory of development appears to be arrived at in the last number of the "British Critic," from which it would seem that Rome *as she is* should be our actual model in religion. The class of doctrines which are included under the term "sacramental mediation," are, it seems, recognized only in theory in the Church of England, but—

"This whole view, thus distinctly recognized by our Church in theory, thus *wholly abandoned in practice*, has been preserved *abroad in practice*, as well as in theory. We are absolutely driven then, were we ever so averse, to consider Rome in its degree our model, for we are met in limine by objections derived from the witnessed effect of these doctrines in Roman Catholic countries ³."

Why such objections oblige us to make Rome our *model* seems difficult to perceive. One would think that sufficient light might be derived from the practice of *antiquity*, and of the Oriental church, without constituting Rome *our model*, as is now done habitually by certain persons.

4. The last principle to which I shall direct attention is,

¹ Ib. p. 306.

² No. LXIV. p. 410.

³ No. LXVII. p. 6.

that *Roman Catholics* may subscribe the Articles, provided they do not hold the Pope to be, *de jure*, the Primate of Christendom. I do not here adduce Tract 90, because it would seem that the leading object of the writer was to show that *Catholic* doctrines—the doctrines of the Fathers and the Primitive Church, or private opinions not inconsistent with faith, are not condemned in the Articles; and I should conceive that in contending for a “Catholic,” he did not mean to suggest a “*Roman Catholic*” interpretation of the Articles, though certainly some of the expositions in Tract 90 had a tendency of that kind: but other persons seem evidently to have adopted this course. The “*British Critic*” holds that—

“The fact seems highly probable, as a matter of history, that in the construction of the *Articles*, an eye was had to the comprehension of all *Roman Catholics*, except only those who maintained the Pope to be *de jure* the Primate of Christendom⁴.”

And accordingly we are informed, that—

“Mr. ———’s ‘Observations on Tract 90,’ and ‘Collection of Testimonies,’ are a very important step towards settling the question of *Catholic* subscription to the Articles. He proves historically, that the Articles were not designed to exclude *Roman Catholics*, who signed generally, without being taxed with insincerity for so doing⁵,” &c.

Those who are thus continually labouring to *write up* the Church of Rome, and to disseminate doubts and objections against the English Church, its Reformation, its doctrines, articles, liturgies, apostolical succession; those who are thus undermining in every way the Church, and preparing the way for secession from its communion—are either in doubt as to the propriety of remaining within its pale, or they are not. If they are not in doubt, they have either made up their minds that it is a matter of duty to remain in the English Church, or else to unite themselves with the Roman Communion: no other alternative can be supposed. Now let us consider how far the line of conduct which has been pursued by the “*British Critic*,” and by the individuals to whom I allude, can be justified under either of these alternatives.

⁴ No. LIX. p. 27.

⁵ No. LX. p. 507.

1. If they are *in doubt* whether they ought to remain in the communion of the English Church or not, then it is inexcusable, nay *sinful*, to promulgate doubts and difficulties, and to assume such a tone in regard to Rome, as has a manifest tendency to unsettle faith in the Church of England, when it is still *uncertain* at least whether she is not a true Church. If it be possible that our duty is due to her, it is surely inconsistent in us to let fall a single expression which may have a tendency in the slightest degree to place a stumbling-block in the way of discharging that duty. I cannot conceive a greater pain than the feeling that we have been instrumental in raising doubts, when doubts ought not to have existed; when our own infirmity of judgment, and our own want of knowledge, were alone to blame. If any man entertain *doubts* in regard to the Church of England, he is bound in conscience to seek silently for the solution of those doubts; to cease from writing or speaking on subjects in which his own opinions are *unsettled*. No one deserves any blame for being in doubt on religious questions, unless, indeed, that doubt has arisen from too great confidence in his own powers, or from some other moral fault; but it is really inexcusable in any man, who is himself involved in the perplexities and dangers of doubts in religion, *to publish those doubts to the world*—to involve others in his own dangers and temptations.

2. If men are satisfied that it is a matter of duty to remain in the English Church, then I say, that it is wholly inconsistent with that duty to excite a spirit of doubt and dissatisfaction in the Church, and to tempt its members, in every possible way, to secede from its communion. Nothing can be more inconsistent than the practice of disregarding its authorities, encouraging disobedience and disrespect to its prelates, and discontent with the Church itself, as if the great mass of its members were engaged in measures hostile to the true faith. It is sinful even to contemplate the possibility of voluntarily separating from the Church under circumstances of persecution or obloquy. Notions of this kind tend to diminish the horror which every Catholic should feel at the very notion of schism.

3. If there be any who are secretly convinced of the duty of uniting themselves to Rome, and who are waiting the moment

to declare themselves, while in the mean time they are labouring to insinuate their own persuasion amongst the duped and blinded members of the English Church—No—I will not believe that such disgraceful and detestable treachery and hypocrisy can exist in any one who has ever partaken of sacramental privileges in the Church of England. However appearances may seem to justify such a belief, I cannot for a moment entertain the notion of such revolting iniquity:—and yet it is impossible to offer any reasonable answer to those who suspect that there are individuals who remain in the Church, only with a view to instil doctrines which would otherwise be without influence—to gather adherents who would otherwise be safe from temptation.

Under no conceivable circumstances, then, can the tone adopted by the "British Critic," since it passed from the editorship of Mr. Newman in 1841, be excused. I confess my surprise that this periodical has so long been permitted to continue in the same course. I can only say, that I have felt it a painful duty to discontinue subscribing to it; and I sincerely hope that some change may be effected in its management, which may have the effect of relieving anxieties, and of restoring confidence in the principles of a Review, which was formerly a respectable and useful organ of the Church of England, but which can certainly no longer justly claim that character. I deeply regret the necessity which exists for speaking thus strongly and severely. Occasional errors of judgment, such as we saw in the Tracts, may be excusable; but when the mistake is perpetuated; when it is canonized, and propagated, and multiplied from day to day, the evil becomes intolerable, and calls for the public disapprobation of Churchmen. The admission of such articles as that on "Bishop Jewell" into the "British Critic," the tone and principles of that periodical in general, and the measures of the party which it represents, have compelled me to break silence at length, and to state my dissent from their views; and I am deeply thankful to be enabled to add, that all the advocates of Church principles with whom I have been able to communicate, concur in disclaiming the doctrines of the British Critic.

In dissenting from these views and principles, we are only

refusing to abandon the position which all sound and consistent Churchmen have hitherto maintained. When we associated ten years since in defence of the Church of England, in vindication of her orthodox and primitive principles, we had already satisfied ourselves that this Church is justified in holding her course apart from Romish corruptions. We were not about to *settle our opinions* on such points. We were not about to put the Church of England on her trial. We were, and I trust still are, conscientiously and devotedly attached to her communion; and we have always esteemed it our glory that her belief is in accordance with *Scripture*, and with *Catholic and primitive antiquity*. The doctrine and practice of *Rome* are not our model or our standard; and we are resolved, with God's aid, to "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and to be in bondage to no man." Such, I am persuaded, are the principles of the body of Churchmen; such seem to me to have been the principles even of "the Tracts for the Times" in general; and those who now admit the Papal supremacy, the worship of saints and angels, purgatory, and certain theories of development, really hold views as inconsistent with those Tracts, as with the sentiments of the great body of Churchmen.

I should not speak thus, had I not ascertained the sentiments of many influential friends of Church principles who have looked with pain and uneasiness on the course of events for the last two or three years. Their opinions ought no longer to be misunderstood. Their cause should no longer be mingled with doctrines and practices alien to it. It rests with them to dispel the illusion.

The *only* difficulty with which those who uphold Church principles have had to contend, is the imputation of a tendency to popery. The continual *assertion* of our opponents of all kinds has been, that Romanism is the legitimate conclusion of our principles. Romanists, Dissenters, Latitudinarians, and many others have reiterated the assertion, till the world is nearly persuaded of its truth. But what can we say—what defence can be made, when it is undeniable that Romanism, *in its very fullest extent*, has advocates amongst ourselves; that they have influence in the "British Critic;" that they are on

terms of intimacy and confidence with leading men, that no public protest is entered against their proceedings by the advocates of Church principles? It is a conviction of the necessity of making some attempt, however feeble, to arrest an intolerable evil, which has induced me to publish this narrative of our proceedings, and these records of our principles and views. They are written under the apprehension that the dangers which now threaten us, are not inferior to those which surrounded the Church in 1833; that the tendency to latitudinarianism has been replaced by a different, but not less dangerous tendency; while the spirit of disaffection to the Church has only taken a new form. It seems therefore a plain duty to hold out some warning to those who might be in danger of being deceived.

CHAPTER IV.

CHURCH PRINCIPLES STATED—DUTIES OF CHURCHMEN— PROSPECTS OF CHURCH PRINCIPLES.

LET me be permitted in this place to attempt some brief outline of Church principles, and to mark some of the principal points of distinction between those principles and certain prevalent doctrines.

During the earlier part of the present century, the Evidence of Religion, and Biblical Criticism, occupied much of that attention which might have been given with greater advantage to the study of Revelation itself. With a view to obviate Infidel objections, and to render Christianity more easy of acceptance, the mysteries of Revelation had been to a certain extent explained away; its doctrines had been lowered; it had been made to approximate as closely as possible to the standard of human reason and philosophy. On the other hand, the extravagance and irregularities of Sectarianism had led many to dwell on the necessity of external regularity in the Church, without, perhaps, duly appreciating the spiritual privileges con-

nected with visible ordinances, or seeking after that spiritual life, which the Church herself, and all her rites, gifts, and instructions, are designed to cherish and to support. And the reaction against this unconscious formalism, did not correct, to any great extent, the downward tendency of things; for while it taught us to look within and above; while it led us beyond externals up towards the throne of God, and the cross of Jesus Christ; while it yearned for Communion with God, and was possessed of a spirit of love toward all who loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity; while it magnified Divine grace, and looked with truth on man and his works, as worthless and devoid of merit; it still aided the downward tendency of the age, by concentrating the whole of religion in the acceptance of one or two dogmas; by undervaluing the importance of the remainder of Revelation; and by overlooking the mysteries and graces of the Sacraments, in the effort after a more immediate communion with the Deity.

These remarks are not offered in any spirit of hostility or of unfriendly censure. We are sometimes inclined to judge too harshly those who have gone before us. A fair and candid consideration of the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, and the difficulties they had to encounter, which were very different from those of the present time, will enable us, I think, to find much that was laudable in their intention, and beneficial in their agency. The defence of Christianity on rational principles; the reaction against Sectarianism; the reaction against Formalism, were each valuable in its way, and to a certain extent: it was only their abuse and excess which became really injurious. On the whole, however, it is now generally admitted, that Religion was not generally in a healthy state when the present theological movement commenced. Important truths had been well-nigh forgotten, or explained away. There was a tendency gradually to lose sight of some of the distinctive doctrines of Christianity and of the English Church. A dangerous spirit of Latitudinarian Reform had arisen. A self-indulgent and worldly age was endeavouring to release itself from the restraints of Conscience and Religion.

Now if such was really the case, it was a necessary consequence, that difficulties and evils should arise in the course of

any attempt on the part of individuals to arrest the prevalent tendencies of things. It was impossible, when certain truths or principles had to be retrieved, that they should not apparently, and in some cases really assume an undue degree of *prominence*. Principles relating to the Church, the Sacraments, &c. were to be dwelt on continually and earnestly, if the public attention was to be arrested; and yet it was impossible to prevent many of those who became convinced of the truth of those principles, from investing them with undue importance; from supposing that the essence of Religion consisted in their reception and advocacy. It hence followed as a necessary consequence, that some more earnest minds should, after a time, discover that they had not, after all, attained to the great realities of religion; that they should feel an undefined longing for some higher and more satisfying Truth; that their attachment to former theories being shaken, they should enter on newer and bolder paths of speculation, and should grasp at any theory or design, which seemed to possess something of a deeper and more spiritual character, or to hold out a promise of allaying the thirst which consumed them. It was to be expected, that such minds should, after a time, unite with the opponents of Church principles in attributing *Formalism* and a want of *reality* to those principles—that they should evince a tendency to Romanism. These evils are most truly deplorable, and yet they were unavoidable, and had they been fully foreseen, ought not to have prevented the effort to restore Church principles.

But oh, how ignorant are we of, I will not say merely the *principles* (this term is too cold), but the *spirit*, the *life* of Christ's holy Church, if we for a moment suppose that it is, in any degree, a spirit of formalism, of superstition, imagination, speculation, theory, or unreality. No; as Christians, as members of that spiritual body of Christ which is his Church, as those who are united to Him by real ties more deep and tender than human imagination can conceive; yea, "bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh"—as Christians, I say, and members of his Church, we feel in the inmost recesses of our hearts, that it is GOD Himself, that Almighty Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, who is, and ought to be, the Author, the Object, the End

of our existence; that in Him we both bodily and spiritually “live, and move, and have our being,” that He must be to us, “all in all,” that virtuous actions, religious worship, the sacraments and means of Grace, the Ministry, the Church, Revelation itself, are only valuable because they are creations of his power, instruments of his will, conducive to union with Him; that He is the only and Eternal Fountain, from whence all spiritual things derive their vitality; and that while we drink of that inexhaustible fountain, we shall “*never thirst*,” we have within us “a well of water springing up into eternal life.” And where this is not the habit of the soul; where GOD is not the sum and substance of existence, the heart will be ever unsatisfied and restless, and devoid of true peace. The exercises of external devotion—ritual observances—the sacraments—the Church—the strictest external discipline—inward mortifications, and even monastic seclusion, may still leave the soul without its only solid consolation—its only adequate object. If we are restless and dissatisfied, it is because we attempt to repose our hopes on *inferior objects*, whether good or evil.

And it is from this principle alone—this absolute consciousness that God Himself is our “life,” and our “hope,” that all spiritual obedience, and the whole life of Christianity emanate. It is because we feel our natural state of danger, and our utter dependence on Him, that we avail ourselves of every possible means of grace, and feel true happiness only in conforming ourselves to the intimations of the Divine will, and thus preserving a continual union with the Deity.

It is then no mere dry and speculative principle on which the orthodox Christian acts, in receiving with the deepest veneration the holy Scripture. He receives it as THE WORD OF GOD—the only undoubted declaration of his will—a declaration mercifully vouchsafed for our salvation, and therefore full and ample, and in no respect deficient, as the Catholic Fathers have unanimously taught. And consequently he disapproves of any tendency to undervalue Scripture, to discourage its circulation or perusal, or to represent it as insufficient to establish the great doctrines of the faith; knowing that the most eminent defenders of the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and other articles of the true faith, have always

relied on Scripture as their strongest support. On the other hand, it is impossible to approve that *exclusive* veneration of Scripture, which would virtually supersede the office of the Christian ministry, and which, combined as it frequently is, with an assertion of the unlimited right of private interpretation, unguided by the instructions of the existing Church, and wholly independent of the recorded sentiments and tradition of the whole body of believers from the beginning, has a tendency to permit each individual to substitute his *own view* of revelation, for belief in revealed truth itself. It should never be forgotten that Scripture is the *inestimable*, but not the *only* gift of God.

In the same spirit we should confess the blessed privileges of the Sacraments; not like some, viewing them as mere signs of our duties or our privileges, instituted merely for the purpose of stimulating our faith; but recognising in them communications of Divine Grace, means of communion with God; and therefore most deeply feeling the necessity of availing ourselves of such blessed gifts. Nor can any words be too high, when we speak of that regenerating Grace, which in holy baptism transforms the child of Adam's sin into the child of God; which clothes him with righteousness, engrafts him into the body of Christ, enables him to lay hold on the salvation set before him, and through "faith working by love" to attain eternal glory. And this divine life, thus implanted in the soul, is, we believe, sustained and nourished by innumerable graces and dispensations of the Holy Spirit, but more especially in the sacrament of the holy Communion, in which, by a mystery beyond human comprehension, the blessed Jesus Himself becomes the true nourishment and food of our souls, condescending to enter our earthly tabernacles, that He may make us partakers of Himself, and afford to our flesh a pledge of immortality. In all this God Himself should be our immediate object and end. The Sacraments (I speak now only of those great mysteries generally necessary to salvation) are only precious, as links which bind us to our Creator and to the Eternal Son which is the Word of God; but in this point of view they are awful and inestimable gifts; and we, therefore, can as little approve of those who venture to undervalue such gifts, to divest them of their graces, to explain away their high mys-

teries, as we can of others, who in their attempt to attain clearer views of the mystery of the Eucharist, involve themselves in contradiction to the plain words of Scripture by the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and needlessly, perhaps dangerously, compel men to distrust the evidence of their senses. Nor can we in any degree approve of any system or theory which tends to the reception of a doctrine so unfounded, and connected with such a mass of superstitions. In Romanism the sacrament becomes little else than a sacrifice; it is rather something which we offer to God, than something which God confers on us. The sacrificial character of the Eucharist, in a sense which is most dangerous and even heretical, (as not merely a spiritual sacrifice of praise and commemoration, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ, but as the sacrifice of Jesus Christ Himself for the remission of sins,) is habitually dwelt upon, apparently with a view to salve the conscience of those who "*assist*" at this sacrifice, while they refuse to partake of the divine gifts of the body and blood of our Redeemer which are there offered. Thus, an unspeakable grace of God is rejected, while man identifies his lowly and unworthy offering with that stupendous sacrifice which was sufficient to redeem the whole universe.

With reference to the Church, we should maintain such principles as these. The association of the disciples of Jesus Christ in his holy Church, and their instruction and guidance by a ministry commissioned from on High through the apostles, for their sacred work, are divinely-appointed and ordinary conditions of our salvation. We would cherish them as such; not regarding them merely as privileges or advantages vouchsafed to us for *our merits*, or of which we have any right to *boast*, and still less declaiming in any uncharitable spirit against those who may be deprived of such blessings, even through their own fault; but feeling it as a deeply important practical truth, that there *are* such conditions, and that we are bound to avail ourselves of them. The Church, the ministry, and the legitimate succession of one and the other, are then of infinite importance to us; not in themselves, but as institutions of God, which we dare not neglect, and which we are bound to cherish as evidences of his paternal care.

We would, therefore, deprecate all views on this subject which tend to dissolve the obligation of Christian unity in the Church, to represent it as a merely human institution, or to deny to its ministers that divine commission which alone authorizes them to undertake so great an office. But on the other hand, we would with equal earnestness deprecate theories of a contrary tendency, which have emanated from some influence alien to the spirit of religion. We would disclaim that fanciful theory of an absolute external unity; of a perfect sanctity; of an unblemished purity in doctrine and discipline, with which Romanism has deceived itself, and which some amongst ourselves seem willing to adopt. It is evident from the Bible and the annals of Christianity, that the Church is symbolized by its vital members; that infirmities, sins, and corruptions, are found in it—that it is at one time more pure than at another; at one time more animated by faith and charity than at another—and yet that God is still directing and guiding it amidst many infirmities and backslidings, and sometimes, notwithstanding grievous sins; still urging it onwards, and accomplishing his promise, that “the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.” We see this in the tare-sown field, the draught of fishes, the predictions of false teachers, and of heresies privily brought in.

And therefore we would not venture to maintain, in opposition to the plainest evidence of Holy Scripture and of Christian antiquity, that certain doctrines and practices which obtained extensively in the middle ages, and which are still received in the Church of Rome, must *necessarily* be sound and healthy, and in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel. We cannot, on such a theory, set aside the plain and undeniable *evidence*, which is opposed to the Invocation and Worship of Saints and Angels, of images and relics. We cannot conceal the denunciations of God against idolatry in every shape; nor can we sanction any sort of religious worship to created beings. Even though such worship may not be always in *theory* or in *intention* idolatrous (most assuredly it is often idolatrous even in *theory*), yet still, if it has a direct tendency to idolatry; to withdraw man from his allegiance to his Creator; then woe be to us if we in any degree countenance or approve what is so

deeply offensive to a "JEALOUS GOD." I mean not to say that all who have practised these things were idolaters: God forbid. We may find excuses for many of those who in ancient or modern times have done so. They acted thus from want of knowledge or of consideration; those doctrines and practices had not "developed" themselves; distinctions were made, and interpretations received, which in many cases saved men from the guilt of idolatry. But if those who have seen the evils attendant on such things; if they who have escaped the pollutions of the world, "are again entangled therein and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning." It is not our place to draw nice distinctions, and to measure how near we may approach to idolatry. Such is not the service with which God will be contented. If we be faithful to Him, we must not fear, in defence of his truth, and in a holy jealousy for the Lord God of Hosts, to uplift our voice like a trumpet, and to warn and exhort, against any concession on points so essential to the purity, nay, to the *existence* of religion.

And again; while we uphold the undoubted truth, that God has given to us a Ministry invested with authority to preach the Gospel, and to administer the Sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline; while we believe that the chief pastors of the Church have succeeded to the ministry of the Apostles; that great reverence is due to their admonitions and decisions; that we are bound to "esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake;" to pray without ceasing for the success of their apostolical ministry; and to render their task more easy by our obedience and humbleness of mind:—while we thus uphold the sacred mission of the Ambassadors of Jesus Christ, we are, I hope, equally prepared to reprove any assumptions which owe their origin to an unholy desire for the "pre-eminence"—any power which is based on usurpation; which devoid, as it is, of any Divine or Apostolical institution, assumes to be possessed of both, and arrogates the government of the whole world both in temporals and spirituals. We can never, for any reason, or with any view whatever, give way to the claims of the Papacy; and we cannot but marvel most exceedingly, that any persons professing to be members of the English Church, can be so deceived and blinded by the shallow

sophistries of the modern advocates of Rome, as to be ready, not merely to admit the Papal supremacy, but to admit it in all the wildest extravagance of its assumptions and claims.

Of the doctrines of Satisfaction, Indulgences, and Purgatory, we can never approve, based as they are on a principle which strikes at the root of our confidence in the promises of God; the assumption, that the sins of those who truly repent are not wholly forgiven; that penalties are still to be endured; that the wrath and justice of God is still to be appeased. We condemn the system of Indulgences which subverted the discipline of the Church, and which is applied to the support of innumerable superstitions. We condemn the doctrine of Purgatory, which supposes the justified to endure, after this life, tortures and sufferings inflicted by the justice of God. We cannot approve of lying wonders, legends, miraculous images, and the mass of superstitions which deform and degrade the popular religion of Rome; nor can we avoid looking with jealousy and dissatisfaction on any attempts to reconcile the public mind to such abuses.

No: this is not the mode in which the union of the Universal Church can be attained. It is not by concessions on vital points; it is not by evincing a disposition to give way to claims, doctrines, and practices, which intelligent Romanists themselves disapprove; it is not by sacrificing the truth of the Gospel and Christian liberty in a vain and hopeless straining after a communion, which God, for his own wise purposes, has permitted to be interrupted; it is not *thus* that the breaches of the Church can be—*ought* to be, repaired. When we shall see in *other* Churches, as well as in our own, a spirit of improvement, a spirit of humility and moderation; when their members shall have gained the Christian courage to avow and to reform the abuses of which thousands and tens of thousands of them are secretly conscious; when superstition and idolatry are not, as now, gaining ground, but receding; when the Papal power, and ultramontane principles are not, as now, increasing, but diminishing; then, but not till then, may we hope and trust that the reunion of the Church is at hand. In the mean time it behoves us to take heed to *ourselves*, and with a thankful sense of the spiritual privileges which God hath vouchsafed to

this branch of His holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, with a sense of our deficiencies, and an earnest desire to correct them ; to stand firm in the old paths, rooted and grounded in the faith, not carried about with every wind of doctrine, but, in a humble reliance on Divine assistance, going on unto perfection. We shall thus have delivered our own souls, and shall have glorified God in this branch of his Church on earth.

Let me now be permitted to turn to some other subjects, which are of considerable practical importance at the present time. And in the first place, I would invite attention to the difficult question, how far, and under what limitations should members of the Church of England *admit defects in her existing system.*

It may be argued, that true filial piety, and zeal for the interests of Religion oblige us to desire and labour for the amendment of defects, and that it is only by pointing out those defects, that the public mind can be awakened to a sense of their existence. Be it so ; but then much, nay, everything depends on the *mode* in which such a movement is conducted. In the first place, men ought to be very careful, that the defects pointed out should be *real* and *proved* defects. It is not because this or that individual is of opinion that the revival of certain rites, or the introduction of certain practices would be conducive to edification, that he has any right to infer that the Church has not good reasons for her existing practice, or that she is in any degree deficient, because they are not recommended by authority. He should remember, that what might be conducive to his own edification, might be to another, "destruction." He should reflect, that the rulers of the Church, in times when there was *a more practical and experimental knowledge* of the working of another system than there can be now, must have had better opportunities of judging of the tendencies of that system by its actual operation on their own minds than we can have ; and that we may now be totally unable, under any circumstances, even by forsaking the communion of the Church, to place ourselves really in their position, or to comprehend fully the working of the system which they reformed. So that in fact, what men regard as deficiencies, may be only the results of most pious care, most

practical wisdom, most holy jealousy. If such men would as *candidly* endeavour to place themselves in the position of the Reformers, and to comprehend their leading principles and motives, as they do to enter into the views and feelings of Roman Catholics; they would, I am sure, feel more satisfaction at the great work which was accomplished in the sixteenth century.

It is not by implicitly receiving the views of modern apologists of the Mediæval system (such as Mr. Digby), and by dwelling only on its brighter and more engaging aspect, that such knowledge can be attained, as is calculated to enable men to judge rightly and fairly of the Reformation. Such a mode of investigation is pre-eminently liable to the imputation of *unreality*: the Mediæval system is thus viewed merely as a theory; its real nature is unknown.

We should then be very careful only to point out real and *proved* defects in the Church; but here again, more especially under existing circumstances, there must be some further caution. Nothing can be more injurious and dangerous than the prevalent habit of pointing out defects, apparently *without any definite object*; but in a mere spirit of *complaining*. This habit cannot fail to render men *discontented* with the Church, disposed to schism, and to dangerous innovations. It causes infinite scandal to the weaker brethren, and throws many men back on existing systems as affording the only refuge against a spirit of spiritual turbulence and disloyalty. To so great a length has this evil proceeded, that beardless youths and young women discuss without scruple the most solemn and difficult subjects of controversy; and presume to censure the Church; to condemn her existing system; to canvass and to blame the conduct and principles of those who sit in the chairs of the Apostles. This is an abuse which demands the interference of parents, instructors, and the clergy generally.

There are those, however, to whom years, and attainments, and station, give some right to investigate defects, and to attempt their removal. But they will, I am sure, act most wisely, when they endeavour *never to point out a defect without suggesting, at the same time, a feasible remedy*. If this be done, the Church will be encouraged and stimulated by the hope of

improvement, instead of being left to mourn in spiritless despondency over her faults.

I must now bring these observations to a close. It has been freely admitted that there have been faults on the part of the writers of the "Tracts for the Times:" there has been, on the other hand, much to lament in the conduct of those who have risen in opposition to the "Tracts for the Times." I am persuaded—I know indeed, that amongst those whose disapprobation of the Tracts has been publicly avowed, many, very many, deeply regret the *tone* in which the controversy has been too frequently carried on¹. The "Record," (a journal which was subject to *presbyterian* influence,) was the first to adopt this tone; it was followed by the "Christian Observer," and subsequently by various other periodicals, and by innumerable pamphlets and other works written in a spirit which it is most painful to remember. May we never be brought into judgment for these ebullitions of an ill-regulated zeal, in which charity and decency were too frequently altogether lost sight of. Party feeling has led to every species of unfairness. Exaggeration of facts has almost universally prevailed; motives have been unjustly imputed; character has been traduced; extremes of doctrine, or mistakes in practice have sometimes led to contrary extremes. I will not further pursue this grievous subject, and shall only add a most earnest and respectful prayer, that all sincere friends of the Church, who may disapprove of the doctrines or theories advanced in the theological system of the Tracts, may feel the necessity of repressing intemperate language, personal reflections, every thing calculated to irritate without convincing. It would be wholly impossible under existing circumstances to expect that *controversy* on such points

¹ I cannot but lament the tone adopted by some highly respected prelates on this subject. The language employed by the Bishop of Chester, and by the Metropolitan of Calcutta, in their charges, seems to me calculated to give countenance to a spirit which has been most injurious to the Church. The respect which is due to the abilities and Christian zeal of those prelates, evidenced by their great exertions in the cause of Christianity within their respective spheres, only adds to the regret which their controversial tone has excited. Two or three other Prelates might be mentioned, whose words seem not to have been always guided by that spirit of wisdom and charity which their eminent station demands, and which has been happily manifested by the great body of our prelacy.

should be discontinued. The sacred interests of Christian truth would not permit the slightest relaxation in that conscientious vigilance which has been exercised, or in the duty of "contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints." *It may even be necessary to introduce controversial subjects occasionally in the pulpit, when congregations seem to be in special danger from the approach of error. But where there is no such danger; where there is enough and more than enough of hostility to certain unpopular doctrines, and to their advocates, it is surely unwise to excite and disturb congregations by continual appeals on controversial subjects. The frequent application of such stimulants must tend to create a tone of mind very injurious to practical and spiritual religion, to promote divisions already but too serious, and to foster a spirit of criticism, which may at any moment re-act on those who have been instrumental in drawing it forth, and may create for them embarrassments of the most serious nature.

I would also venture to suggest (and the suggestion is offered alike to all parties,) the necessity of abstaining from the perusal of controversial writings, and especially from the study of journals and periodicals, *the circulation of which depends on the amount of excitement which they supply.* I am persuaded, that no one who permits himself the habitual study of such publications, can fail of imbibing their tone, and of thus being gradually filled with irritated and angry feeling. I am sure that many excellent men would have recoiled with horror from the perusal of such writings, had they been aware of the frame of mind to which they were about to be unconsciously led. It almost seems to argue distrust in the soundness of a cause, when we are for ever seeking for arguments to sustain it. If "Tractarianism," as it is sometimes called, be dangerous and pernicious—if it has been marked by censures, why is it necessary to dwell longer on the subject? Is it wise or right to continue the controversy, to the exclusion of almost every other thought or interest; to mark all its turns and windings, to listen to every alleged error, and dwell on every alleged instance of folly or of guilt? Do not such studies tend to disturb the heart, and disqualify it from the higher pursuits of religion? Do they not engender a spirit of criticism? Are

they wholly exempt from *danger*, in familiarizing the mind with the notions of error and evil? I am convinced that there is no more clear duty of Christians in these days, than that of abstaining from the *habitual* study of controversial journals and periodicals, in which the power of writing *anonymously* what no man would venture openly to avow: and the pecuniary interests of publishers or proprietors, which are promoted by violence of tone and party spirit, combine to keep up an unwholesome and unnatural excitement. And I would most earnestly and humbly appeal to the consciences of writers in periodicals, whether it is right to put forward sentiments under the veil of anonymous communications, which they would feel in any degree reluctant to publish with their names. Individuals have it in their power largely to diminish these evils, and in that power is involved responsibility—a responsibility to God for the welfare of His Church. With reference to publishers, I cannot but observe, that they are, and ought to be held *responsible*, to a certain extent, for the works which they are instrumental in bringing before the public. They have not apparently been sufficiently alive to this responsibility. Much has been published of late which should never have made its appearance. The Church has, in a great degree, the remedy in her own hands. If publishers are in future so forgetful of their responsibility as to print indiscriminately all that is offered to them; if they thus prove themselves careless of the interests of the Church, let them know the opinions of her members: let authors and purchasers withdraw their patronage and support.

More especially would I venture to offer a word of caution, in regard to parties which have been brought into this controversy. Churchmen ought surely to be able to settle their own differences without calling in the aid of Dissenters or of Romanists. It may be that these strangers to the Church speak truly on some of the disputed points; but, however this may be, I cannot but think it highly derogatory to the dignity of truth to receive the aid of such auxiliaries; and when it is remembered, as it ought to be, that the parties in question are actuated by the most unrelenting hostility to the Church; that their craft is equal to their hostility; that their obvious policy

is to excite jealousies and divisions in the Church to the very utmost, in the hopes of detaching at some favourable crisis the more excited of its members, and of uniting them to their own parties respectively; seeing all this, I cannot but think it almost suicidal, to avail ourselves of the assistance so eagerly proffered by Romanists and Dissenters, and to give them the satisfaction of witnessing the progress of their designs.

In conclusion, let us consider the present state and prospects of Church principles. There are some adherents of these principles, I am aware, who are inclined to look rather despondingly on the prospects of the truth. The violent opposition which has been raised against the Tracts and other connected publications, and against their authors; the unpopularity of some important principles; the discouragement given by politicians of all parties²; the censures passed by so many Prelates; the particular acts of censure under which the leaders of the Tract theology have been silenced or condemned; the outcry for further victims daily stimulated by party journals, all combine to dispirit, to alarm, to alienate some minds from the English Church, as though it would be impossible to continue much longer in the profession of truth within her bosom. To some, perhaps, it seems doubtful, whether that Church can be indeed a Christian and a Catholic Church, when she permits truth to be so violently assailed and oppressed.

Such thoughts are passing in the hearts of some brethren; but I think that there is another view of the circumstances in which we are placed, which is at once more reasonable and more encouraging. Admitting, then, most unreservedly, the fact, that opposition *does* exist on questions of great moment; that essential truths have been, in fact, contradicted; still it remains to be inquired, how far that opposition arises from misconception or not, and how great is its real amount. If we do not consider the real *causes* and *direction* of existing pre-

² I may be permitted to observe, that after the publication of such articles as that "on the Tamworth Reading-room," in the *British Critic*, we can feel very little surprise at the evident hostility of an influential party.

judices, it will be impossible to comprehend their bearing on the question of Church principles.

It appears to me, then, that the prejudice, the opposition, the persecution of which we have to complain were caused in some degree by indiscretions. Doubtless we should have had a great amount of obloquy to encounter under any circumstances; doubtless there would have been suspicions, artifices, and very much of what we have had to deplore. But had not opponents been given *every conceivable advantage* by offensive expressions, inconsiderate language, unwise acts, the opposition could never have become formidable. It was in order to prevent such evils that I vainly endeavoured to obtain *revision* of the Tracts, that I even laboured for their suppression. I was anxious to see this *practical* application of the doctrine of reserve and *οἰκονομία*. I was earnest that advantages should not be given to opponents; that the public mind should not be offended by the mode in which truth was presented to its notice. Had this sincere advice, which was probably, at the time, regarded as a sort of compromising expediency, been acted on, I cannot but think that much evil and danger would have been avoided.

I am far from presuming to blame those friends who adopted a contrary course: but it certainly does seem that the opposition which has been gradually swelling into louder and more vehement wrath, was excited to some extent by *mere indiscretion—mere excesses*; that it is directed, and will be directed, not so much against Church principles, as against certain mistakes, and against principles which we cannot approve; being chiefly directed against those Romanizing tendencies which we most strongly repudiate; and I cannot but cherish the opinion and the hope, that there is no indisposition in the public mind to afford a fair consideration to Church principles, if they are not urged in such a form and mode as is extremely, and, to a certain extent, justly obnoxious; and I confidently trust that the doctrines of Bancroft and Andrewes, Bramhall and Taylor, Hammond and Beveridge, Bull and Wilson; the doctrines of antiquity, of our formularies, and of the Scripture itself, will finally obtain that universal approbation and acceptance to which they are most justly entitled. I would not for

a moment deny the fact, that there are parties who are very unsound in their belief, and who are on principle opposed to sound and Catholic views. I have not the least hope of conciliating such men, nor would I make any concession to them; but they have obtained an influence which would have been unattainable, had not many indiscretions been committed, and had not certain writers, within the last two years, manifested Romanizing tendencies.

What, in fact, are the principles and the conduct against which so much vehement opposition has been raised, and which the Prelates have found it necessary to censure or oppose? I am persuaded, that the great body of those who adhere to Church principles³, will, on consideration, agree with me, that they are not bound to vindicate the points which have been thus objected to. The very laudatory terms in which Romanism has been spoken of, is one great cause of offence. We are surely not bound to employ such terms, or to approve their use. The depreciating manner in which the English Church has been mentioned, the abuse of her Reformers, the spirit of discontent with her offices, the desire to alter and assimilate her system to that of Rome,—all this has been another principal ground of offence. Churchmen are certainly not obliged to adopt any such course; they are not to consider their principles as censured or condemned when such things are objected to. The hostility against notions of Tradition, which would either supersede Scripture, or receive articles of faith not contained therein, does not seem directed against the sober and rational view, which receives the testimony of the primitive Fathers, of the Creeds, of the Universal Church in all ages, as confirmatory of that view of Scripture which the Church of England entertains, in opposition to the errors of Unitarians, Latitudinarians, Dissenters, Romanists. I need not proceed further on this topic: other instances will readily suggest themselves.

³ Let me not be supposed for a moment to imply that *Church principles* are limited to those who approve of the Tracts for the Times. I know, and thankfully acknowledge, that many of their opponents have always maintained sound and Catholic principles. The Church is far, very far, more united in great points than it might be imagined.

However distressing may be our present differences, yet we should remember that the Church is at all times liable to the recurrence of such difficulties, which are frequently of long continuance. The history of *Jansenism* will show that the Roman Church has not been able to prevent protracted discussions within her own bosom.

In our own Church differences on certain points of doctrine, which are now in dispute, were, *thirty years ago*, as hotly and vehemently carried on as they are at the present day. Do not let us suppose, that theological differences on justification, grace, the influence of the sacraments, and other connected points, are ever likely to come to an end in the Church. Candour and charity may lead us to acknowledge the excellence of many who hold contrary views on these subjects, and to walk in Christian communion with them; but perfect agreement is perhaps unattainable in this world of imperfection.

In conclusion, it is impossible not to advert in a spirit of deep thankfulness to the prospects of the Church, and the progress of Christian principles and practice. Who shall say that much has not been done within the last ten years? And what may we not humbly expect from the blessing of God on patient, and humble, and persevering endeavours for personal and general improvement? A Theology deepened and invigorated; a Church daily awakening more and more to a sense of her privileges and responsibilities; a Clergy more zealous, more self-denying, more holy; a laity more interested in the great concerns of time and eternity; Churches more fully attended; sacraments and divine offices more frequently and fervently partaken; unexampled efforts to evangelize the multitudinous population of our land, and to carry the word of God into the dark recesses of Heathenism. In all this there is very much to awaken our hopes, and to stimulate to continued exertions. Lethargy and indifference, at least, are at an end. We are conscious of our deficiencies, and not ashamed to own them; and God forbid that we should ever cease to be so; or that the effort and straining forward towards greater purity, and sanctity, and discipline, should ever lose one particle of its energy. No sincere friend of the Church; no zealous and faithful servant of

Jesus Christ could wish to impose any restraint or check on the desire for improvement. He cannot but rejoice at the existence of such a spirit, and unite himself cordially to its praiseworthy efforts. He will be very careful not to damp the kindling fervour of devotion and self-denial; or to restrain the efforts to restore ecclesiastical discipline. He will be careful, as far as in him lies, that weak and wavering minds shall not be alienated by any apparent want of zeal on his part; any apparent indifference to spiritual things; any forgetfulness or compromise of great Catholic principles. We have much to hope, should Divine Providence mercifully guide us in this course. It is thus that we shall best promote the cause of Catholic unity throughout the whole world. But we are undoubtedly surrounded with difficulties and dangers; and *absolute ruin* may be brought on us by the exaggerations and mistakes of a few men. The bright prospects before us may be blotted out for ever, if there be any *reasonable* suspicion of Romish tendencies; if there be not most frank, and honest, and open dealing on this subject. Let the public mind once be so deeply deceived, as to suppose that the advocates of Church principles have any concealed designs in favour of Romanism; any partiality for that evil system; any wish to promote the revival of that system; any desire whatever, beyond that of reinvigorating the Church in strict harmony with her own genuine principles, and according to the model of the pure and *primitive* ages: let mistakes on this subject be assiduously instilled by hostile malignity, and permitted to prevail through any weakness, timidity, or reserve on our part, and the result can be nothing but *ruin*; ruin to sound principles; destruction to all hopes of improvement; annihilation to all possibility of ever restoring Catholic unity; division, and remorse within the Church; and perhaps the final triumph of the principles of anarchy in religion and politics.

Such evils can, and (under the Divine blessing) *will*, I hope, be averted from us. But there are great and mighty interests depending on the conduct even of *individuals* amongst us. Unguarded words, thoughtless actions, notions put forth almost in playfulness, may have deep consequences. They may be recorded as amongst our most weighty sins at the last day. A

child may, in his sport, apply a match to a barrel of gunpowder. An indiscreet word may open the floodgates of schism or heresy. May we earnestly supplicate Divine grace to guide our words with discretion and moderation ; and to enable us to pursue our difficult and anxious path, without swerving to the right hand or the left, and without leading any astray from the fold of Him, "who is the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls."

I have now to express an earnest hope, that an indulgent and favourable construction will be extended by the Christian reader to this little work. Its object is not to add to our divisions, or to create unkindly feeling in any quarter ; but to offer some warning which seems greatly needed at the present time ; and to obviate mistakes which might have a most injurious effect on the cause of truth. It will not, I trust, tend to *division*, if it should have proved, that those who advocate Church principles are not unwilling to acknowledge faults where they really exist, and to act in entire freedom from party feeling. And, on the other hand, I would hope, that if a line has been drawn between our principles and the theories which a few brethren have recently advanced, a difference which exists *in reality*, and which I have not brought into existence, will not be *increased*. And with reference to the eminent men who have patiently endured much obloquy and discouragement, and whom I hope always to consider as friends, it will perhaps be not without use to have shown the simplicity and rectitude of their intentions in originating this movement ; and for this cause, I am content to take share in a responsibility which has hitherto not been attributed to me. I humbly trust that our hands and hearts were pure in this matter—that we have nothing to conceal—nothing of which we need be ashamed—nothing for which we are not prepared, in reliance on the merits of Jesus Christ, to render an account at the LAST GREAT DAY. There was no dishonesty on our part—no wish to promote Romanism—no disloyalty to the Church of England—no want of charity towards any of her members—no design, except that of seeing all the principles of the English Church in full and active operation—no wish, but that of promoting the glory of God, "and on earth peace,

goodwill towards men." But we were "compassed with infirmity," were "men of like passions with you;" and therefore were liable to error and indiscretion. I think that any indiscretions and mistakes which have been committed, have been far too harshly judged; and while I would not impute any *intentional* injustice to those who have combined circumstances which had in reality no connection, and have deduced from them a proof of some design on our part to promote the cause of Romanism, I must say, that such a charge is really and substantially unjust.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A. p. 9.

AMONGST the most gratifying and encouraging circumstances of that time was the affectionate zeal manifested by many Laymembers of the Church. I subjoin an extract from a letter which conveys the sentiments of one whose character, still more exalted than his rank, had obtained for him the admiration of all sincere friends of the Church.

FROM A CLERGYMAN.

R—, Nov. 8th, 1833.

On consulting with the Dean, and other warm friends of the Association, I find it is their unanimous opinion, and in which I agree with them, that our wisest course in this neighbourhood is to confine ourselves for the present to the circulation of the "Suggestions," and to getting the adhesion of all we can, both Clergy and Laity, to the general principles there laid down¹. . . . The Dean has received answers from the Duke of —, and the Bishop of —, quite in character with the individuals, the purport of which I shall subjoin. . . . The following is the purport of the Duke's:—

"My dear Sir,—I am always disposed to attend to your recommendations, but on the present occasion particularly so, agreeing, as you know I do, most anxiously and warmly in the views which are so spiritedly and wisely exhibited in the Prospectus which you enclosed to me. I am quite disposed to give my name to the Association, and I gladly commission you to use it as you please in the defence of the Church, where the purposes are sound and pure, and the defence well-judged and courageous. My services, whatever they may be worth, are at the feet of the Church, as the most Christian form of worship, and inculcating the purest religion of any known faith. My life or death are wholly at the service of such a cause; only be true

¹ Some difficulties had already arisen with regard to the "Tracts for the Times."

to yourselves, and I trust that no danger or difficulty will ever appal me, or deter me from meeting your enemies, and contending for the belief which must bless and consecrate any country that cherishes and upholds it.

"I most completely subscribe to the two 'Objects,' and as to the last paragraph of the 'Suggestions' beginning 'They feel strongly,' it delights me to read it; it is the cardinal point, and I have always said, that if it had hitherto been acted upon, we should not now be where we are, in a state of anarchy, and almost in a republic of religion. Pray let me hear more about this, as more may arise."

This is noble . . . I shall be very glad to find that the Bishop's information² is correct; but we must not relax our endeavours to organize the whole body of Churchmen to support the Bishops, if they manfully perform their duty, and to step into the breach if they desert their posts.

The sentiments of an eminent writer on that crisis, which are conveyed in the following extracts, will be read with interest.

FROM A CLERGYMAN.

— *Ripon, Nov. 4, 1833.*

Mrs. — has called this moment, and left me a letter from Southey, an extract from which I shall subjoin. She suggests that you should write to him on the subject. He takes a melancholy view of the subject, though I believe a just one; but if we can effect no more than he supposes, we shall be amply repaid for our exertions. If the Association is carried on with the same good sense and prudence with which it has begun, it will be a tower of strength to the Church . . .

Extract from Mr. Southey's Letter.

"I have put Mr. —'s papers in circulation. The 'Suggestions' are drawn up with great judgment, and the objects stated so unexceptionable, that no person who is verily and essentially a Churchman could object to them. No person can concur more heartily than myself in the opinion and principles there expressed; but I do not perceive how such an Association is to act, and what can be effected by it. Can it do anything more than petition King, Lords, and Commons, against a destructive system which King and Commons are bent upon pursuing, and which the Lords are too weak to resist? They may indeed circulate pamphlets and insert wholesome letters in the newspapers, and this will be doing much eventual good: it is not likely that it should avert the evils that are intended, but certainly it will prepare the way for a reaction and a restoration."

² A contradiction of the report of the intention of the government to make latitudinarian alterations in the Liturgy.

I subjoin extracts from a correspondence which took place about this time, which will throw some light on the principles on which the Association was based.

TO A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

Oxford, November 12th, 1833.

I take the liberty of forwarding to you, as a tried and proved friend of the Church, the prospectus entitled "Suggestions," &c. of an Association or system of correspondence and co-operation which is rapidly progressing in almost every part of England. Our principles you will see in the Prospectus. Our plan is to establish an extensive correspondence with those who agree with us in principle, and to induce them, by means of the Prospectus, to unite and co-operate with the clergy and laity in their respective neighbourhoods. This will enable them to encourage each other, and to give expression to their feelings in a combined form, if any attempt should be made to injure our religion, more especially by introducing latitudinarian changes in our Liturgy and other standards of faith. Amongst our friends are We are in correspondence with nearly forty counties, in which we have numerous friends among the laity and clergy. . . . We are now engaged in getting up an Address from the Clergy to the Primate, a copy of which I send you. It will help to unite and to raise the spirits of our friends. It is intended to follow it up by an Address from the Laity, expressive of their attachment for the religion of their forefathers; and if those who sign the former address, exert themselves properly in their parishes, with the aid of our lay friends, I do not see why there should not be a most powerful demonstration. We want the laity to join us in defence of their own Church, and not to leave the clergy alone to fight the battle of Religion against Infidelity, Popery, and Dissent. If we could get our clergy and laity to unite, on strong religious principle, such as is contained in the Prospectus, the results might be most happy; for I believe that it only wants that we should *bestir* ourselves, to show *who* has the real strength and influence. I believe we shall not in the Association want for ardour and zeal, at least if I may judge by what has hitherto come under my observation.

REPLY TO THE ABOVE.

—, *Westminster, 13th Nov. 1833.*

. . . I wish to ask thus privately, whether there be, in any of the Tracts published by the Association to which you refer, or by its leading members, any desire to dissolve the remaining connexion between the Church and the State. I have heard that one individual, whose name you have given among the supporters of the plan, has been exerting himself in this way—how far the information may be correct, even as to him individually, I know not, for I have not yet seen any of his later works; how far it may appear in the Tracts of the Association, I know as little, because,

though I have been favoured with them, I have not been in the house in which they are, in the country, long enough to open them; but I own that I am very anxious to find that I have been misinformed . . .

TO THE SAME.

Oxford, Nov. 14th, 1833.

I feel it due to your interest in our proceedings to enter into the fullest and most confidential detail on the subjects to which you allude. Our plan originally was to promote as far as was in our power Church principles, and to defend the doctrines of the Church of England in these days of latitudinarian indifference. We united with this object and issued the Prospectus you have seen. Some anonymous Tracts were also written by various persons, and circulated among our friends as the works of individuals, and not authorized by the Association. They were not in fact intended to be the Tracts of the Association, but they were not unnaturally confounded with it, and as they have been disapproved of by many, we have discontinued circulating them. I beg to observe, however, that I am not aware of anything in these Tracts tending to separate Church and State, and so far from there being the least intention of the kind among our leading friends³, I know that they are most strong supporters of the union. It is true, that two or three excellent individuals may go rather far on this subject (I will in the strictest confidence mention Mr. —, Mr. —, and Mr. —), but at the same time you will recollect that it is impossible but that there must be varieties of opinion amongst the individuals of a large Association, . . . and they are not, I may add, our most influential members. Circumstances, indeed, render it impossible that they should take a leading part.

With regard to the Address, I am happy to say that it meets the approbation of the Clergy generally; and you will observe, that while the third paragraph does certainly leave the door open to improvement, it is only *such* improvement as the Archbishop proposes, and as is consistent with our principles previously stated. Had the Address been put forward without this paragraph, I believe the Clergy would not generally have signed it, and we might have been said to be opposed *in limine* to all improvement, while the Primate would not have received the support of such an Address, and our friends would have been divided.

Pardon the length of this explanation. We want to unite all the Church, orthodox and evangelical, clergy, nobility, and people, in maintenance of our doctrine and polity; and standing UNITED once again on

³ This statement may appear somewhat inconsistent with the facts stated in page 7, but in fact the friends there alluded to, as opposed to the union of Church and State, took no part in our subsequent proceedings. They were engaged in writing Tracts, or were absent from the University. They never cordially entered into the design of an Association, or of the Address and Declaration which emanated from it.

this strong religious ground, and co-operating with the Primate and Bishops, with the advice of laymen like yourself, we may surely accomplish much. The Church of England gives us all unity; and it is a topic that will find its way to the hearts of our people.

NOTE B. p. 13.

GREAT MEETING OF THE CLERGY.

(*The Standard*, Feb. 6, 1834.)

"We refer with much pride to the following report of the proceedings of a meeting at Lambeth Palace of the Clergy delegated to represent the dioceses of England and Wales. The report reached our office at too late an hour to permit us to offer upon it the remarks which we feel its importance demands, and we therefore leave it for the present to the attention of our readers, who will, we are sure, exultingly agree with an observation made in the course of the day, that it is 'a triumphant meeting for the Church.'

"This morning having been appointed by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury to receive the Address of the Clergy of England and Wales, at twelve o'clock the following Clergy, who had previously assembled at the house of Mr. Rivington, in Waterloo-place, proceeded to Lambeth Palace:—

Ven. James Croft, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Dean of Lincoln, Dr. Gordon.

Dean of Carlisle, Dr. Hodgson.

Dean of Chichester, George Chandler, LL.D.

Archdeacon of London, Joseph Holden Pott, M.A.

Archdeacon of Middlesex, George Owen Cambridge, M.A.

Archdeacon of Stowe, H. V. Bayley.

Archdeacon of Bedford, Dr. Bonney.

Archdeacon of Sarum, Liscombe Clarke, M.A.

Archdeacon of Brecon, Richard Davies.

Archdeacon of Taunton, Anthony Hamilton, M.A.

Archdeacon of Rochester, Walker King, M.A.

Archdeacon of St. Alban's, John James Watson, D.D.

Rev. Ashurst Turner Gilbert, D.D., Principal of Brazenose, Oxford.

Rev. Godfrey Faussett, D.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity, Oxford.

Rev. John Keble, Professor of Poetry, Oxford.

Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Rev. John Banks Hollingworth, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

Rev. Ralph Tatham, B.D. Public Orator, Cambridge.

Rev. I. W. Baugh, M.A., Chancellor of Bristol, Proctor for Worcester.

Rev. W. F. Baylay, M.A., Proctor for Canterbury.

Hon. and Rev. Evelyn Boscawen, M.A., Proctor for the Chapter of Canterbury.

Rev. H. Fardell, M.A., Prebendary of Ely, Proctor for Ely.

Rev. John Hume Spry, D.D., Proctor for London.

“They were received in the library by his Grace the Archbishop, who was attended by his Chaplains.

“When the Venerable James Croft, Archdeacon of Canterbury, addressed the Archbishop in the following words :—

“ ‘As Premier Archdeacon of England, I have the high honour of being deputed by my reverend brethren to approach your Grace, on the present important occasion, with the Address of the Clergy of England and Wales ; nor will I, in my own person, venture to say more than that I feel entitled thus to designate an address, which, notwithstanding some few slight and immaterial variations, is in all instances substantially the same, and has received the signatures of 6530 ministers of our Apostolical Church.’

“The Archdeacon then proceeded to read the

ADDRESS.

“ ‘We, the undersigned Clergy of England and Wales, are desirous of approaching your Grace with the expression of our veneration for the sacred office, to which by Divine Providence you have been called, of our respect and affection for your personal character and virtues, and of our gratitude for the firmness and discretion which you have evinced in a season of peculiar difficulty and danger.

“ ‘At a time, when events are daily passing before us which mark the growth of latitudinarian sentiments, and the ignorance which prevails concerning the spiritual claims of the Church, we are especially anxious to lay before your Grace the assurance of our devoted adherence to the Apostolical doctrine and polity of the Church over which you preside, and of which we are ministers ; and our deep-rooted attachment to that venerable Liturgy, in which she has embodied, in the language of ancient piety, the Orthodox and Primitive Faith.

“ ‘And while we most earnestly deprecate that restless desire of change which would rashly innovate in spiritual matters, we are not less solicitous to declare our firm conviction, that should any thing, from the lapse of years or altered circumstances, require renewal or correction, your Grace, and our other spiritual rulers, may rely upon the cheerful co-operation and dutiful support of the Clergy in carrying into effect any measures that may tend to revive the discipline of ancient times, to strengthen the connexion between the Bishops, Clergy, and people, and to promote the purity, the efficiency, and the unity of the Church.’

"To which his Grace the Archbishop returned the following answer :—

"*Mr. Archdeacon, and my Venerable and Reverend Brethren,—I receive with peculiar pleasure this expression of your kindness towards me, and your approbation of my humble endeavours to do my duty ; but I feel still greater satisfaction when I consider the object which you have principally in view, and the good effects which may be anticipated from this public declaration of your sentiments. If it has been ever surmised that the Clergy are wanting in attachment to the doctrine and polity of our United Church ; that they have ceased to venerate the Liturgy, are distrustful of their spiritual governors, and desirous of change : this manifestation of your opinions and feelings will correct the mistake, and dissipate the hopes which may have been built on it. If, again, they are charged with partiality for defects and corruptions, and determined aversion to improvement, from bigotry or baser motives, such imputations are shown to be groundless by this address.*

"*I regard it as a direct contradiction of misrepresentation and falsehoods of different kinds, which have been widely circulated ; as an avowal of your unshaken adherence to our National Church, its faith and its formularies ; and as a testimony of your veneration for the episcopal office, and of your cordial respect for your Bishops. By thus coming forward, you make known to the public the real dispositions of the Clergy ; you place their love of order and of ancient principles beyond the reach of suspicion ; you discourage rash innovation, without shutting the door against any improvements, which may be deemed sufficiently important to outweigh the evils incidental to change.*

"*To myself and the other Prelates, although we have never had reason to doubt of the affection of our brethren, this voluntary assurance of your co-operation will yield effective support, and impart additional confidence. The gratifying proofs which you on this day have afforded us, of your approval in respect to the past, and of your reliance on our continued fulfilment of our sacred duties, are equally calculated to allay our anxieties, and to animate our exertions. For myself, I confess that, while I am deeply impressed with a sense of our danger, and conscious of my own infirmity, I look to the future without dismay, in the hope that, through the blessing of Almighty God, and the aid of his Holy Spirit, the Church may not only be preserved from the perils which now threaten its existence, but be securely and permanently established, with an increase of usefulness and honour.*"

"The Archbishop then received and returned the compliments of each of the Clergy present, when they withdrew.

"We understand that the addresses from some dioceses and archdeaconies have not yet been received, but the aggregate number of signatures will probably exceed eight thousand."

NOTE C. p. 14.

Some difficulties which interposed to prevent the adoption of the Address are alluded to in the following letters :

FROM A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

London, Dec. 16, 1833.

According to the suggestion and request of you and our other friends, Sir — — and I proceeded to Cambridge, and entered into full confidence and anxious deliberation with ——. The result was, the Address, of which I inclose a copy, which this morning we have submitted to Mr. —, trusting that we should receive his valuable aid in putting it into circulation. To our great regret as well as surprise, Mr. — (though I do not think he went so far as to say he would not sign it *if* issued) disapproves of it, and declines to take any share in the responsibility of promulgating it, on the grounds, 1st, That the temporal establishment of the Church is not made sufficiently prominent, and especially because a determination to support church-rates is not asserted specifically. 2nd, That the aversion to change (unless by *Church* authority), in the spiritual concerns of the Church, is put forward too strongly, so as to be likely, in his opinion, to deter signatures. It becomes, therefore, now a matter for serious consideration, whether this Address should be put into circulation, and *now*; or whether we had better give it into other hands, and let it begin again *de novo*. . . . Mr. — seems afraid (as indeed did Archdeacon —) of *any* Address being circulated avowedly by — and me, who are known to be strong politicians, and in that caution we very much concur.

FROM A FRIEND.

London, Dec. 24, 1833.

. I have seen Sir — —. He is more than ever convinced how important it is that the Clerical Address, which must be considered the greatest victory that has been achieved since the battle of Waterloo, should be presented in due form. Upon this point, therefore, you must, as one of the Oxford Committee, insist. . . .

Sir — is now of opinion, that for some little time at least, nothing can be done for the Lay Address. He has not yet received answers from Lord Eldon, Lord Chandos, Sir R. Peel, or the Duke of Newcastle. From the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Goulbourn, and one or two others, he has received answers, not favourable to the doing any thing at this present moment, which seems to be quite a critical one.

NOTE D. p. 15.

I subjoin some extracts from letters received from various correspondents which will, in some degree, account for the limited measure of success which attended the Declaration of the Laity.

FROM ARCHDEACON ———

W——, Jan. 27, 1834.

The Duke of Buckingham highly approves the Declaration, but says, "From what authority does it proceed?" Now surely you should print in the papers some account of the committee, chairman, secretaries, treasurers, &c. I really am at a loss what to say, not having one paper or scrap of information.

FROM ARCHDEACON ———

— E——, Jan. 23, 1834.

You led me to suppose, about a fortnight since, that I should immediately receive a packet of the Declarations for the signatures of the Laity. I gave you the name of ———, as the person to whom the packet might be sent; but we have never received it, and are anxiously expecting it. I believe you wish to receive the names of peers, &c. who would subscribe, and therefore I beg to give you *Lord Rolle*, who is desirous of adding his name.

I would beg to suggest to your Committee, that this Declaration should be immediately followed up by Petitions, in answer to the four several points now claimed by Dissenters, namely, the abolition of church-rates, burial, marriage, and registration.

FROM THE SAME.

— E——, Jan. 30, 1834.

I am exceedingly anxious that our friends in London should take some more direct and regular means of obtaining signatures to the Lay Declaration. At present some packets of the papers have been sent to one or two gentlemen in E——, and to a few in the country, but no instructions are given, no notice as to whom the papers are sent, and what is to be done with them. In consequence a *very few* signatures are made, and no one takes any active part, and with some the papers remain positively as lumber. This is a sad state of things, but it is literally the case; all is confusion; our best friends are disheartened and discouraged—they confide in others, and nothing is done; a good cause is lost from want of purpose and active direction; and there will not be one-tenth, nay, not *one-hundredth* of the signatures obtained, which might have been procured by good management. If it be not too late, I most earnestly solicit that a communication be made from the Central Committee to ———, who

will put them in the way of engaging agents in every district, perhaps in every parish.

FROM A CLERGYMAN.

Sherington, Newport Pagnel, Feb. 11th, 1834.

I this morning received a letter from a very influential friend of mine connected with the county, and a firm friend of the Church, in which he says he has been "much reproached" for not sending up the Declaration of the Laity. Col. C—— has as yet had no communication of any sort respecting it; you I hope received a letter from me in which I recommended his name as the properest to further the object in this part of the county, and he is quite ready to do anything that may be desired.

Copy of a letter received by Mr. W. Joy, Oxford, from a clergyman in the neighbourhood of Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

Jan. 22nd, 1834.

If you have any knowledge of, or any influence with, the members of the Central Committee in London, who sent out the Declaration of the laity of the Church of England, which you showed me when in Oxford, do counsel them to take more efficient measures for having it signed. If they really had the cause at heart, they would not have sent it about in the careless way they have. I expected on my arrival at my parish to have found a copy of the Declaration; but instead of this, I heard that a neighbouring clergyman, an acquaintance of one of the members, had a *sheet of foolscap paper* sent to him with the Declaration printed on one side, and the direction on the other "For Ashby and its Neighbourhood;" so that the Ashby declaration and that of all the adjoining parishes has already gone back with ninety-three signatures; when Ashby alone would have furnished five hundred. Not a single name from . . . ; and many other parishes have been attached, because there was no room on the paper. If the Declaration is to be of use, it must be sent to every parish in the kingdom, and if I know any one of the gentlemen who compose the Committee, or where they could be addressed, I would write this my opinion to them. Pray do what you can to remedy this fatal supineness of the Committee.

NOTE E. p. 15.

I annex extracts from letters received about this time from Laymen.

FROM A GENTLEMAN.

Monmouth, Dec. 10.

. . . . If you will send me some printed Addresses, I will get the signatures of the clergymen in this town and neighbourhood, and also forward

some for signature to other parts of the county, unless you think proper yourself to write to those gentlemen I have named.

And if you will send me the Lay Address, or a copy, I will get that signed by the mayor, bailiffs, town clerk, common council, and principal inhabitants of this town, and also send it to the other towns in the county for signature. And if I can render any further assistance in the good cause in which you are engaged, you may command my services.

FROM A GENTLEMAN.

— Park, Feb. 26.

In reply to yours just received, I beg to state that I have taken no part in circulating any *Declaration* of the Laity in this neighbourhood, having, prior to the publication of such by the Suffolk Street Committee, circulated and obtained signatures to the enclosed *Address* from every parish in this division of the county. Mr. —, of Uffington, by whom the Address was drawn up, undertook a similar duty in the Wantage and Farringdon districts . . . [This letter enclosed an Address from “the magistrates and other laymen resident in the county of Berks” to the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressive of their attachment to the Church of England.]

FROM A GENTLEMAN.

Lichfield Close, 26th March, 1834.

I have the pleasure to send you Declarations from the Laity in Lichfield, Norton, and Courley, and Shenstone, in Staffordshire, and also one from Sir Robert Peel and several highly respectable gentlemen in this neighbourhood. Sir Robert has authorized me by letter to add his name, which letter I can forward if necessary.

NOTE F. p. 17.

The following is a copy of His Majesty's most gracious speech to the Bishops on the anniversary of His Majesty's birth-day, in May, 1834 :

My Lords,—You have a right to require of me to be resolute in defence of the Church. I have been, by the circumstances of my life, and by conviction, led to support toleration to the utmost extent of which it is justly capable; but toleration must not be suffered to go into licentiousness: it has its bounds, which it is my duty, and which I am resolved to maintain. I am from the deepest conviction attached to the pure Protestant faith, which this Church, of which I am the temporal Head, is the human means of diffusing and preserving in this land.

I cannot forget what was the course of events which placed my family on the throne which I fill; those events were consummated in a revolution which was rendered necessary, and was effected, not as has sometimes been most erroneously stated, merely for the sake of the temporal liberties of the people, but for the preservation of their religion. It was for the defence of the religion of the country, that was made the settlement of the crown which has placed me in the situation that I now fill; and that religion and the Church of England and Ireland it is my *fixed purpose, determination, and resolution, to maintain.*

The present bishops, I am quite satisfied, (and I am rejoiced to hear from them, and from all, the same of the clergy in general under their government,) have never been excelled at any period of the history of our Church, by any of their predecessors, in learning, piety, or zeal, in the discharge of their high duties. If there are any of the inferior arrangements in the discipline of the Church, (which, however, I greatly doubt,) that require amendment, I have no distrust of the readiness or ability of the prelates now before me to correct such things, and to *you* I trust they will be left to correct, with your authority unimpaired and unshackled.

I trust it will not be supposed that I am speaking to you a speech which I have *got by heart*. No, I am declaring to you my real and genuine sentiments. I have almost completed my sixty-ninth year, and though blessed by God with a very rare measure of health, not having known what sickness is for some years, yet I do not blind myself to the plain and evident truth, that increase of years must tell largely upon me when sickness shall come. I cannot, therefore, expect that I shall be very long in this world. It is under this impression that I tell you, that while I know that the law of the land considers it impossible that I should do wrong, that while I know there is no earthly power which can call me to account, this only makes me the more deeply sensible of the responsibility under which I stand to that Almighty Being, before whom we must all one day appear. When that day shall come, you will know whether I am sincere in the declaration which I now make, of *my firm attachment to the Church, and resolution to maintain it.*

I have spoken more strongly than usual, because of unhappy circumstances that have forced themselves upon the observation of all. The threats of those who are enemies of the Church make it the more necessary for those who feel their duty to that Church *to speak out*. The words which you hear from me are indeed spoken by my mouth, but they flow from my heart.

His Majesty was observed to be much affected in the course of this speech, which was delivered with great emphasis.

NOTE G. p. 17.

The "British Magazine" for July and August contains accounts of numerous meetings and addresses to the King in gratitude for his declaration. Amongst the places from which such addresses were sent, may be mentioned Wisbeach, Tiverton, Poole, Colchester, Bristol, Cheltenham, Tewkesbury, Cirencester, Canterbury, Manchester, Liverpool, Warrington, Leicester, Oxford, Coventry, Salisbury, Leeds, Doncaster, Brecon, &c. On the 9th and 25th August, the King held levees, when the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dukes of Wellington, Rutland, Beaufort, and Newcastle; Earls of Falmouth, Winchelsea, Amherst, Cawdor, Warwick; Bishop of Exeter, the Mayor of Liverpool, and many other gentlemen and noblemen presented several hundreds of addresses to His Majesty from all parts of the United Kingdom, and from all classes and orders of society, expressive of attachment to the Church, and heartfelt gratitude for the royal declaration. Petitions in favour of the Church were at the same time pouring in by hundreds into the two Houses of Parliament.

NOTE H. p. 18.

I was desirous of recording in this place the names of those who co-operated in our exertions for the defence of the Church, in the latter part of 1833, and the beginning of 1834. It would have shown that the movements which I have described were not in any respect connected with religious party—that men of very different views and connexions were equally zealous in the common cause. But I do not feel justified in mentioning names without special permission. I have before me a list, comprising the names of twenty-six Archdeacons, five Deans, and a great number of other dignitaries and beneficed Clergymen, fourteen Peers, and many members of Parliament, mayors of cities and boroughs, and private gentlemen, who took part in the effort which was made in support of the Church.

NOTE I. p. 18.

It was our sincere endeavour to unite all parties in defence of the Church. This we did not hesitate to avow on all proper occasions. Some of our friends were by no means satisfied of our discretion on this point. In illustration of this, I subjoin some extracts from the letters of a very influential and respected friend.

October 24, 1833.

I thank you much for the copy of the "Suggestions," which I duly received, and think them drawn up with both ability and caution, and defining very accurately the object of the Association, and supporting the measure by reasons which must satisfy every reasonable mind. Your letter I confess staggers me, for I am no novice in the points at issue, between the two parties designated Orthodox and Evangelical, and my conviction is, that without compromising fundamentals, no union between them can be formed. Such a union I admit to be most important; I could almost say vitally so to us both, and I am quite prepared to forget all the past, and to give to every individual of the latter class the right hand of fellowship with all the cordiality possible, if they will lay aside Wesley's conceits, and return to the genuine doctrines of the Reformation. . . . I do not say these things to throw cold water upon your measures, but merely to urge deliberation, and the obtaining a clear understanding of the views of those to whom you join yourselves.

FROM THE SAME.

November 4, 1833.

I have this day several letters from persons to whose judgments much deference is due, and who all approve generally of our design, to which they will lend their best assistance, if the measures are well-advised, and seem calculated to effect not a hollow assemblage of differently-minded persons, but a solid substantial union. They urge caution and deliberation, being convinced that if the good is not effected, serious evil will ensue, and all express themselves not very sanguine in their hopes that the circulation of Tracts in the present stage of our affairs will contribute much to rouse that Church feeling which has so lamentably fallen to decay.

The union of parties was, notwithstanding these objections, accomplished in various places to a considerable extent, and quite sufficiently to secure co-operation in the same measures. A clergyman writes thus:—

Norwich, Feb. 1, 1834.

I have heard of only five or six persons in this radical county, who have positively refused to sign the Address; and their opinions in general have very little weight in the Church. Whigs and Tories, Evangelicals and High Churchmen, who have on no occasion been induced to act together before, have readily united in the present measure.

NOTE K. p. 18.

The views of this eminent man are stated in the following extract from one of his letters:

Trin. Coll. April 19, 1832.

... Let me inquire of you particularly what you had in view in saying that the success of the Magazine would depend on its boldly advocating the cause of the Church. I am very anxious to do whatever can be done, and my plan is this:—I have called on a person in whose ability I have reliance, for a series of papers on the advantages of an Establishment, Ordinances, and a Liturgy, Discipline, on Episcopacy, &c. These things seem to me much wanted. I mean to follow them up by strong papers on the necessity of observing Church discipline, as far as the Clergy are concerned. . . . Pray tell me what more is expected, for whatever can be done I will do cheerfully. But if you think that there is a general wish and expectation that the Magazine should become an arena for the cause of the High Church against the Low Church as to doctrine, then I would rather leave the thing to others. I am a thorough High Churchman myself, both as to doctrine and discipline, but I can see little good to be done just now as to *doctrine* by fresh controversy, and have a strong confidence that if the Church holds out, we should get nearer one another by the adoption of sound discipline than by any other way.

I need not add that my friend had mistaken the purport of my letter: his sentiments were entirely in accordance with my own.

NOTE L. p. 21.

The following extracts, from letters received from the Clergy of various parts of England, will suffice to show the objections to which the Tracts gave rise, and the embarrassment which was felt.

FROM ARCHDEACON CAMBRIDGE.

College, Ely, Nov. 19, 1833.

I beg to offer you my best thanks for the copy of the Address to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to assure you that I shall do my utmost to call the attention of the Clergy to it, and to obtain as many signatures as possible. I had previously seen it in manuscript, and received a printed copy through the kindness of my friend Mr. N—, and immediately went over to Cambridge to confer with the — on the subject. On his table I found a number of Tracts which were proposed to be extensively circulated. We neither of us knew then, nor do I now know, how the Committee from which they are to be circulated is to be formed; but we are both agreed in opinion, that some obvious objections offer themselves to such a measure, at a moment when every other man thinks he can discover defects in our Church polity, and is willing to show how to reform them; and that however carefully these Tracts may be worded, they will be sure to give rise to controversy, which it ill becomes those distinguished characters who unite for the sole purpose expressed in the Address, to enter into. . . .

FROM A CLERGYMAN.

Sherington, Dec. 7. 1833.

I regret that I was premature in saying that —'s name might be added to the intended Association: he is a warm friend to the Establishment, an able man, and an excellent Christian, . . . but he and many others do not approve of certain publications said to have their origin with some of the principal promoters of the forthcoming Lay Address. He would wish it to contain general declarations of attachment to the Liturgy, the Doctrines, and the Establishment of the Church of England, without going into any such questions as those relating to episcopacy, apostolicity, and so forth. The expressions "conveying the sacrifice to the people," of being "intrusted with the keys of heaven and hell," and being "intrusted with the awful and mysterious gift of making the bread and wine Christ's body and blood"—I lament to see used in the publications I allude to, and I feel sure that they will not tend to strengthen the Church in these days: we must take care how we aid the cause of Popery.

FROM THE SAME.

Dec. 13, 1833.

I was much gratified by the receipt of your letter to-day. I read *part* of it to —, and I have little doubt of his signing the intended Address or Declaration. I ventured to copy, for —, the following words of yours:—"These tracts, however, never had the sanction of any associa-

tion: they were not written by leading members of the Association, and, on the contrary, they were written by persons who always opposed most strongly the idea of any association, and who are still opposed to it." . . . I think it probable that — will be the means of checking the unfair line of conduct adopted by the Record.

FROM A CLERGYMAN.

—, *Newark, Dec. 23, 1833.*

I heard the other day (what I hope is true), that those of our Clergy who have set on foot this Address, have disclaimed that it has any connexion with certain publications that have issued from Oxford lately, and which have justly excited so much animadversion. I am sure that we should have lost many signatures in this county, if it had been understood that those who signed this Address would have thereby identified themselves with a Society which has sent forth publications which are far more likely to be prejudicial than beneficial to the Church at this juncture, and some of which contain statements that can by no means, I think, admit of proof from Scripture.

FROM A CLERGYMAN.

Cheltenham, Jan. 9, 1834.

We had a preparatory meeting here yesterday, for the purpose of stirring up the laity. It was only called to deliberate, and therefore nothing was done except to adopt the first resolution [alluding to resolutions in favour of the Church, inclosed]. . . . I do hope that the example of this diocese will be followed generally. The Clergy, I believe, are unanimous in the measure.

When I was in London I undertook, on the authority of your letter, to state that the Tracts had been *bond fide* given up. I have since seen what I suppose were they, advertised in the "Record." I do sincerely wish that this was not so. They have been the cause of more injury to the united operations of the Church than can well be calculated.

FROM A CLERGYMAN.

—, *Derby, Jan. 17, 1834.*

Many (Clergy) have refused their signatures on account of a supposed connexion between the Address and the Oxford Tracts. . . . I ought to mention, that last night I accidentally fell in with a Clergyman, a stranger to me, who resides at some distance from Derby, and who had refused his signature to the Address on account of the Oxford Tracts, or rather, perhaps, some remarks upon them in the "Record." Your letter enabled me to remove his scruples, and he gave me his signature. I gave him a number of the copies of the Address, which he would, on his return home

to-day, give to several Clergymen of his acquaintance, who had refused for the same reason, and who, he thought, would now send their signatures. I hope they will arrive in time. . . . I think it a sacred duty to do what lies in my power in behalf of our Holy Mother, both in the present struggle, and in that more important one which will, to all appearance, follow.

NOTE M. p. 32.

The writer feels extremely reluctant to express any difference of opinion from the respected author of Tract 90. It will be sufficient for him to say, that he is of opinion that the Bishop of Exeter, in his Charge, has afforded a safer exposition of certain Articles, and of the general principles of interpretation. With reference to the principle of interpreting the Articles "in the most Catholic sense they will admit," the writer has spoken in a work recently published, in the following terms:—

The sense of the Church of England, therefore, is the sense in which the Articles are to be understood, and the Church has always understood them as she did in the sixteenth century; because she has never, by any act whatsoever since that time, expressed any *change of interpretation*. In still continuing, without remark, the same law which she enacted in the sixteenth century, she has afforded a pledge of her retaining the same sense she then had. How then is this sense of the Church to be ascertained?

I reply, first, that the Articles being designed to produce unity of opinion, the meaning of a *large part* of them is doubtless *plain and clear*, as every one admits it to be. This will, in itself, furnish the first rule for the interpretation of the remainder, viz. *that it shall not be contradictory to what is elsewhere clearly stated in the Articles themselves*.

Secondly, *the formularies of public worship*, comprising creeds, solemn addresses to God, and instructions of the faithful, which have been also approved, and always used by these Catholic Churches, furnish a sufficient testimony of the doctrine taught by them in the Articles; for they could never have intended that their Articles should be interpreted in a *sense contrary to the doctrine clearly and uniformly taught in their other approved formularies*. This then furnishes a second rule for interpreting the Articles.

Thirdly, since it is the declaration of the Church of England, that "a *just and favourable construction* ought to be allowed to all writings, espe-

cially such as are set forth by authority," it is apparently her desire that where any fair and reasonable doubt of her real sense shall remain, after the above rules have been applied unsuccessfully, that sense may be always understood to be *the best*; i. e. *the sense most conformable to Scripture and to Catholic tradition*, which she acknowledges as her guides. The very Convocation of 1571, which originally enjoined subscription to the Articles, declared at the same time the principle of the Church of England, that nothing ought to be taught as an article of faith except what was supported by the authority of Scripture and Catholic tradition.

It must here, however, be most particularly observed, that the rule of interpreting the Articles in the *most Catholic* sense, is one which must not be vaguely and indiscriminately applied to all the Articles, as if we were at liberty to affix to them whatever meaning seems to us most consistent with Scripture or with tradition. The principle thus applied would lead to most dangerous tampering with the authorized formularies of the Church; would open the way for evasions of their most evident meaning, and thus render them wholly useless as tests of belief or persuasion. But if the principle of interpreting the Articles in the most Catholic sense be restricted to *those particular cases where a legitimate doubt of the meaning of any article exists*, and when it cannot be solved *either by the language of other parts of the articles, or of the other formularies of the Church*, it is wholly devoid of any latitudinarian tendency, and only tends to the benefit of the Church and of Christian truth.—*Treatise on the Church of Christ*, vol. ii. pp. 213, 214. ed. 1842.

ADDITIONAL NOTE to p. 13.

The expression of attachment to the formularies of the Church of England, which was conveyed in the Address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the evident danger in which those formularies were placed by the continual demands of innovators, drew from the sister Churches of Scotland and Ireland Declarations designed to encourage the English Church under the difficulties which surrounded her. These important Declarations were as follow:—

DECLARATION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

We, the undersigned Bishops, Presbyters, and Laity of the Episcopal Communion in Scotland, deem it expedient, under existing circumstances, to declare—

1. That the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland is a branch of the

Catholic Apostolic Church of Christ, and has, by the blessing of Almighty God, maintained, through all the vicissitudes of our history, the scriptural and primitive system of prelacy for the ordering of her pastors and the government of her community.

2. That this Church did voluntarily adopt the Book of Common Prayer, as it has hitherto been prescribed by the united Church of England and Ireland, being persuaded that it contains a form of worship agreeable to the word of God, conformable to the practice of antiquity, and eminently fitted to cherish sound opinions and spiritual affections in the minds of those who use it; and that while on the one hand we admit the Liturgy to be imperfect, as all human compositions must be, and on the other hand consider the great body of popular objections to it to have no foundation in truth, and often by their discordant and contradictory nature to refute or neutralize each other, we fear the majority of objectors wear too decidedly the graver aspect of heresy or schism to be as yet conciliated by any alterations which we might deem expedient, judicious, or safe.

3. That while we thankfully recognize our entire freedom as a Church to choose our mode of worship, we sincerely rejoice that hitherto no impediment has arisen to our accordance in this respect with the sister Church in England, and cordially sympathise with her in the dread of any hasty or undue interference with her Liturgy; and we trust that as the Book of Common Prayer was originally ratified and confirmed in England by an Act of Convocation, and as an ecclesiastical synod is the only source from which such alterations should proceed, the constitution and integrity of that Church will yet be respected as it ought to be, and no attempt be made to effect a change in her formularies by an extraneous and incompetent authority.

From a copy sent to the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval, by the Bishop of Ross and Argyle, 10th March, 1834.

DECLARATION OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

The Archbishop of Armagh presented to his Majesty, at the levee held upon his birth-day, the Address, of which the following is a copy. The Address we are informed was signed by seventeen out of the twenty Irish prelates, and by the clergy, with few exceptions, of those dioceses in which it was circulated: 1441 names are affixed to it. The Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Kildare, it is understood, objected to the Address. The Bishop of Meath approved of it, but did not sign it.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

We, the undersigned Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy of the Irish branch of the united Church of England and Ireland, dutifully crave permission to approach your Majesty with a declaration of our deliberate, unshaken, and cordial attachment to the polity, the doctrine, and worship of the Church, as by law established.

Admitted, as we have been, to the ministry of that Church, on the faith of our avowed adherence to its principles and institutions, such a declaration on our part might be deemed superfluous in ordinary seasons.

But the times in which our lot is cast are not of an ordinary character. We trust, therefore, that it will not be deemed unbecoming in us, if, actuated solely by a sense of duty, we openly make profession of our sentiments, hoping that we may thereby contribute, under the Divine blessing, to check the prevailing fondness for innovation, to give mutual encouragement and support to each other, and to remove that disquietude and distrust, which have been produced by the apprehension of ill-advised changes, in the minds of those who are committed to our spiritual care.

We conscientiously believe that the polity of our Church is modelled, as closely as diversity of circumstances will permit, on the ecclesiastical institutions founded by our Lord's Apostles, and transmitted to us by their successors; that the system of our doctrine embodies the faith once declared unto the saints; and that our Liturgy is framed after the pattern of the best remains of primitive Christianity, conveying at all times the fundamental truths of the Holy Scripture, and not seldom in its express words.

In a Church thus pure in doctrine and apostolical in formation, whose religious services are endeared by long usage to the doctrinal feelings of its members, and whose polity harmonizes with the institutions of the State, to which it has ever proved itself a faithful and judicious ally, we deprecate the introduction of undefined changes and experiments; and we humbly trust that no alteration will be made in the discipline and services of our Church, but by the sanction and recommendation of its spiritual guardians.

Should, however, abuses be found to exist in our ecclesiastical establishment, we profess our readiness to co-operate for their removal.

But we humbly submit to your Majesty, in the language of the preface to our "Book of Common Prayer," that 'experience sheweth that where a change hath been made of things advisedly established, no evident necessity so requiring, sundry inconveniences have thereupon ensued, and those more and greater than the evils that were intended to be remedied by such change.'

That accordingly it is wiser to submit to small and questionable inconvenience, than by impatiently attempting its removal to expose ourselves to the risk of great and undoubted evil.

That if it be 'reasonable,' as in the language of the same preface we admit it to be, 'that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made in our forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, as to those that are in place or authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient;' it is no less reasonable that such alterations as are at any time made, should be shown to be either 'necessary or expedient;' and that we do not apprehend this to have been done in respect of the changes which various persons, widely differing among themselves, are understood to have in contemplation.

That a general agreement as to the things requiring correction, the nature and extent of such correction, and the mode of applying it, may be reasonably demanded from the persons desirous of change, as an indispensable preliminary to the concurrence of others with their views.

That an opening once made for innovation gives occasion to alterations not limited to the particulars which were supposed to stand in need of redress, but indefinitely extended to others, which were previously esteemed to be free from all objection.

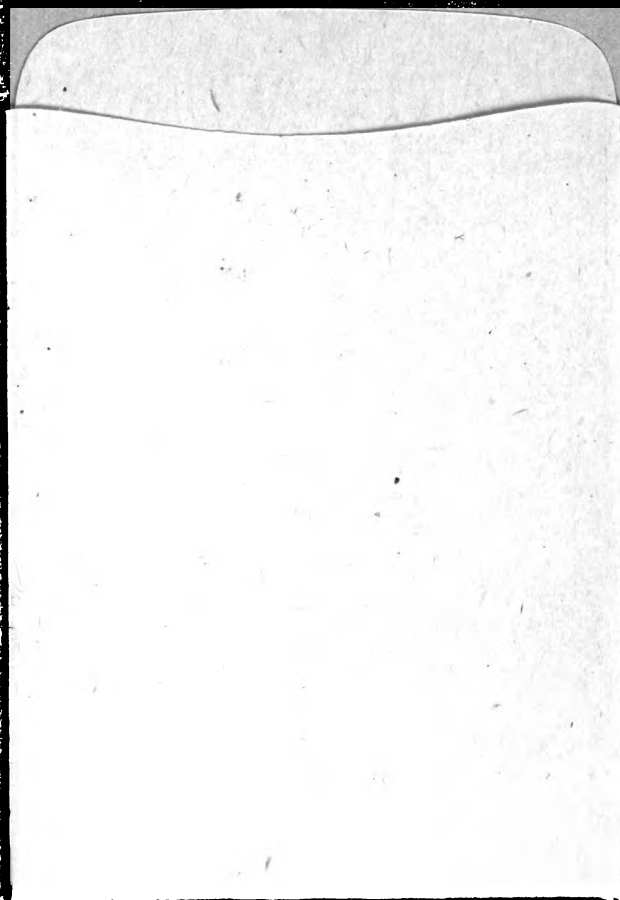
And that thus incalculable danger, arising from comparatively small beginnings, may accrue to our apostolical form of polity, and to the purity of the Christian doctrine incorporated in our public services.—*British Magazine, July, 1834.*

THE END.

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